

Scott 1476

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James Gordon  
Bp. of Aberdeen

254 GORDON, James, *Bp. of Aberdeen*,  
Character of a Generous Prince, drawn from  
the lines of heroick fortitude from which  
by the Rule of Contraries, may be delineated  
the Effigies of a Prodigious Tyrant, 8vo, *old*  
*calf*, 12s 1703

Treats of the Promotion of Trade and Wealth by  
Foreign Plantations; gives an account of an OLD  
FRENCH PLANTATION in FLORIDA, very like to the  
late SCOTS COLONY at DARIEN; and vindicates Wil-  
liam III. for not giving due encouragement to the  
DARIEN COLONY, &c.



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Scott, Additions, no. 1472





*This book was not known to Lowndes.*



T H E  
C H A R A C T E R  
O F A  
Generous Prince

Drawn from the great Lines of  
*Heroick Fortitude.*

From which

By the Rule of Contraries, may be Delineated  
the Effigies of a

**Prodigious Tyrant.**

The *Vertues* of the *Former*, and the *Vices*  
of the *Latter*, being fully Represented;  
by a Pleasant variety of Examples, from  
*Ancient and Modern History.*

By a Hearty Well-wisher of Her  
M A J E S T I E S Government,  
and the Church of *England.*

---

*Humano Generi natura Benigna  
Nil dedit aut tribuet moderato principe majus,  
In quo vera Dei vivensque elucet imago.*

Buchanan.

*Ad Generum Cereris sine cæde & sanguine pauci  
Descendunt Reges & sicca morte Tyranni.*

Juvenal.

---

LONDON, Printed for Edw. Evets, at the Green-Dra-  
gon in St. Paul's-Church-yard. 1703.







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TO THE  
QUEEN'S

Most Excellent

MAJESTY.

MADAM,

THE Happy Influences of  
Your Majesties *most Au-*  
*spicious Government*, are  
surprizingly terrible to Your  
Enemies Abroad, and exceed-  
ingly Comfortable to Your  
Dominions at Home, diffusing  
such a Cherishing *Warmth* a-  
mongst



*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

mongst all Your Subjects, of what Rank soever, that thereby, one of the meanest of them, in a cold *Northern* Climate, and labouring under the Winter of Old-Age, is nevertheless, so much enliven'd and encourag'd, as not only to make this publick Appearance, but also, with the most profound Respect, to beg leave humbly to lay this Essay at Your Majesties Feet.

What it contains, if rightly Represented, may give some kind of Diversion, I hope, not altogether unprofitable, if Your Majesty shall please to cast an Eye upon it, when the  
*Fatigue*



*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

*Fatigue*, attending Publick Affairs, makes some such Diver-  
tisement necessary.

*Example* prevails, every where,  
more than *Precept*; and Your  
Majesty will pardon me to say,  
That *all Mankind*, in this our  
*fallen Estate*, is naturally more  
inclin'd to follow bad Exam-  
ple than good; and the more  
*Eminent* the Pattern is, its In-  
fluences, good or bad, are the  
more Prevalent and Extensive;  
infomuch, that 'tis become  
Proverbial, *Such Prince, such  
People*.

It cannot be accounted Flat-  
tery to affirm, what is so open-



*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

ly known to all the World,  
That Your Majesty is not concern'd in the *Dark side* of this Treatise, any further, than from thence, more and more, to discover the Hatefulness of those Vices, which have justly render'd some Princes most unworthy of that High Character: And how much Your Majesty is Interested in the *other side* of it, is so far beyond my Weakness to represent, that it may be justly reckon'd an unpardonable Presumption in me to attempt it.

May, therefore, God Almighty, *the only Ruler, and special Protector of Princes*, Bless and  
long



*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

long Preserve Your Sacred Majesty, in going on as You have so well begun, and in continuing *always the same* ; and then, no doubt, all Your good Subjects shall still prove a *Happy People*: This I am sure, is the hearty Prayer of many Myriads, and particularly of

*May it please Your Majesty,*

*Your Majesties most Humble*

*most Faithful, and most*

*Obedient Subject*

*and Servant,*

*James Gordon.*







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T O T H E  
R E A D E R.

*AS the famous Diogenes, by Torch Light, at Noon-Day, made a strict search through Athens, (at that time, the Chief Seat of the Muses,) for a Man; or one indu'd with all Perfections Humane Nature is capable of, in this imperfect State: So it is the design of this Treatise, to range through the World, in Quest of a Generous Prince; or one truly blessed with Heroick Fortitude; to which, all the Moral and Intellectual Perfections of Humane Nature may be really reduc'd, as all the Affections of the Soul, even Hatred it self, are by some Moralists, pertinently reduc'd to that radical Passion, Love.*

*Or as the renowned Apelles, being imploy'd to Draw the Picture of Venus, the imaginary Queen of Beauty, assembled all the celebrated Beauties of Greece and Asia; that from their external Perfections, he might piece up and embellish his Admirable Work: So the Curious Reader may here find the Moral and intellectual Beauties of the Generality of Princes, who have made any considerable Figure in the World, cull'd out to adorn this Heroick Draught.*

*Yet to these bright Colours, some dark Shadows are adjoin'd; to shew, That He only, who is King of Kings, is absolutely Perfect: It being  
the*



## To the Reader.

*the Observation of the Wise and Vertuous Philosopher Plato, That great Vertues are often accompany'd with great Vices: Nay, we are assur'd in Holy Writ, That even the Man according to God's own Heart, was guilty of some great Failings, as well as secret Faults.*

*But when 'tis openly known, that some Grandees are grossly Vicious, or altogether compos'd of such Dark Shaddows; they must be reckon'd the direct Contrary of this Character, viz. the Monstrous Effigies of a Prodigious Tyrant: Yet since it is a Rule in Charity as well as Law, That one is presumed to be good, till the contrary can be made appear; we are bound to judge those great Ones to come nighest to the Character of a Generous Prince, against whom we find the fewest Exceptions in Sacred or Civil Records; provided, they have been indu'd with many eminent Vertues, brightly shining before the World: for when that positive Perfection is not to be found, this Enquiry takes little notice of a meer Negative Goodness which cannot make up the Accomplish'd Prince we are seeking after.*

*And what is here said of Princes, may be very profitably perus'd, by those of all Ranks, even to the meanest Peasants; Vertue is amiable, and Vice abominable, abstractly considered, or wherever they are found; and the more Conspicuous either of 'em is, like a City set upon an Hill, they are the more easily and usefully, taken notice of by every Beholder.*



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# Of Heroick Fortitude.

The several Species of it declared, the true Properties of it, and the Aberrations from them illustrated by several Examples.

**T**HE diverse Kinds of this *Fortitude*, are best known by a Dissection of it into several Parts: The principal Division whereof, is, into *Active*, and *Passive*; *Res ardua*, or a Matter difficult, being the Subject of both: *viz.* to Act vigorously what ought to be done, without fear of Danger or Opposition; and to suffer Patiently, what cannot be Generously avoided: Both which Resolutions, are apparently repugnant to the Natural Softness of Flesh and Blood: And the Experience of the World confirms it, That a Man may have a great share of the *Active*, and yet nothing of the *Passive*, and contrarywise; 'tho' *Hercick Fortitude* requires both.

The most pregnant Instance, I find in History, of Excellency in the former, and great Deficiency in the latter; is that of the Young Marechal *de Biron*, as Gallant a Man as was in his Age; there being a greater number of Honourable scars on his Body receiv'd in the Field of *Mars*; than any *French* Man could produce: But his dying on that Fatal Theatre, like a Fool and Mad-man, was a sufficient Evidence



that he had not one Grain of this *Passive Fortitude*; which in many Respects, is prefer'd to what is call'd *Active*, by many *Pagan Moralists*: not to speak of the unparallel'd Glory of the Noble Army of Christian Martyrs.

On the contrary, that Effeminate Pander of *Nero*, and at last his Rival, the Emperor *Otho*, who, for ought I know, never drew a Sword in earnest; yet never any *Felo de se* dy'd more Resolutely than he, nor more Honourably, as the *Romans* then reckon'd: for he beg'd not the Favour of Death from his Freed Men, when his Enemies would not permit him to live longer, as his most timerous Corrivall did; but chose rather to verify that Notable Maxim of *Scipio Africanus*, *That 'tis better to preserve the Life of one Citizen, than destroy a thousand Enemies*: For it was to obviate the further Effusion of Roman Blood, that *Otho* most willingly shed his own: So that what *Seneca* said of *Cato Uticensis*, might more justly be apply'd to *Otho*, *That it was not Blood, but Honour that issued out of his Wounds*. No doubt, if *Cato* could have re-assembl'd as many of the scatter'd Forces of *Pompey*, as had been equivalent to the Army of the Victorious *Cæsar*, he had again adventured a new Campaign, without fear of shedding more Blood: but finding it impracticable, after the Defeat of *Scipio* and *Juba*, he dispatch'd himself, that he might disappoint *Cæsar* of the Glory of his intended Clemency. But tho' *Otho* was credibly inform'd, That the Legions of *Pannonia* and *Mysia*, with those of *Syria* and *Palestine*, were advancing for his Relief, whereby he would have been a sufficient Match, not only to the Lieutenants of *Vitellius*,



*tellius*, but also to all the Legions their General was bringing with him from *Germany*; yet to prevent the Effusion of more *Roman* Blood, he did most cheerfully evacuate all his own; so that he was afterwards fitly term'd, *The Reverse of his immediate Predecessor*, the Emperor *Galba*, of whom it was generally said, *That all Men thought him worthy to Reign, before he did Reign*; but after he ascended to the Imperial Dignity, he wonderfully descended as to that honourable Opinion: *For an Office best discovers the Man.*

The 2d. Division of *Fortitude*, is, into *Diurnal* and *Nocturnal*; as if *Apollo* had been the Ascendant of the former, and *Diana* of the latter: To give Instances of the first, were like the fetching of an Owl to *Athens*, the most part of Battels being fought in the Day time; yea, the old *Persians* and *Parthians* wou'd never engage an Enemy in the Night; which gave a little Reprieve to the Unfortunate Army of *Marcus Crassus*, when they were in *Mesopotamia*: So that 'tis more rare to find an Example of any, who had a greater Disposition to Attack an Enemy in Darkeness than in Sun-shine, even when there was no disparity of Number; not regarding that Reflection of *Alexander the Great*, *That it was a stealing of the Victory*: Or, their resemblance to Thieves and Robbers, who are most Daring in the Night-season. The Famous *Aratus* many times Prator of the *Achaean* Common-wealth, is the most Remarkable Instance of this kind. I do not think, as did some Philosophers, That his Trembling and Sweating in the Day time, when he look'd an Enemy in the Face, could be justly imputed to want of Courage, no more than the *Diarrhaea* of *Henry the IV. of*



*France*, in the like Circumstances, could be ascrib'd to such a base Principle; but rather to the Agitation of their Animal Spirits: For *Henry* was known to be as Valourous, as any that liv'd in his Age: Yea, it is credibly reported, That he oftener Confronted his Enemies than did *Julius Caesar*: And who can doubt of the Courage of *Aratus*, considering his dangerous Adventures at *Sicyon*, *Acro-Corinth*, and *Argos*; besides his other *Nocturnal* Atchievements: Yet it is most certain, that as he had a stronger Inclination to Invade the Enemy, so he had better Success in the Night, than Day-time. In this, some Instance as his parallel, the Famous Admiral *Coligny*, most treacherously Assassinated by *Charles* the IXth. but 'tis certain, they symboliz'd in a speedy Recruit of the Army, after they were Defeated, and in making seasonable Alimentary Provision for it; it being the usual Saying of the Admiral, *That whoever would shape the Monster War, must begin at his Belly.*

*Thirdly*, There is also this difference of Martial Conduct, even in those, who are unquestionably *Brave* enough, That some are fitter to lead on a Party, by Night or Day, than to Head an Army: Some think, the great Remnant of *Marius's* Faction, the Valourous *Sertorius*, to have been one of these: But if we judge by the Event, there were other three Great Champions, almost Contemporary, more justly accounted such; viz. the Renowned *Scanderbeg*, the Famous *Huniades*, and, the no less admir'd, *William Wallace* of *Scotland*. But that the Nature of this Noble Virtue of *Heroick Fortitude*, may the more fully appear, I shall more particularly consider the several Properties of it. The



*The First Property of Heroick Fortitude.*

It requires a considerable Stock of Natural Courage, as the Foundation of it. Some Historians assert, That the Personal Gallantry of *Darius Codomannus*, while he was a great Man, did elevate him to the *Persian* Empire : But we find no Evidence of his Courage, or Conduct, in his Transactions with *Alexander the Great*, if we believe *Q. Curtius*, *Arrianus*, or *Plutarch*. But 'tis certain, That a Prince, known to be void of Courage, makes himself a Prey to all, who are acquainted with his Cowardise : So that any Daring Subject, or Audacious Stranger, is embolden'd to Hector him out of the apparent path of Justice.

The *Roman* Senate had re-assum'd the Sovereign Power, after the Death of their *perpetual Dictator* : but when his Grand Nephew, the young *Octavius*, afterwards entitul'd *Augustus Caesar*, demanded the Consulship ; the Senate deny'd him that Honour, being scarce 20 Years of Age, and told his Ambassadour, *That more Winters must Snow upon him, before he could in Law, be capable of that Supereminent Dignity* : That bold Officer of his Army, put his Hand to his Sword, and told them, *If they would not, that would do it*. Which formidable Embleme put the slavish Senate in mind, of what was usually said by Old *Marius*, *That it is plain Non-sense to talk of Law, to one who wears a Sword by his Side* ; well knowing, that tho' *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, their two Consuls, had worsted *M. Antony* at *Modena* ; yet that they were both Dead, and Young *Octavius* become the Head of all their Legions.



But I know not a more pregnant Verification of *Syracides's* notable Observation, That *excessive Fear betrays the Forces which Reason brings into the Soul*, than *Xerxes's* Deportment in *Greece*. His mortal Enemy *Themistocles*, under pretence of Friendship, so wrought upon his Vain-glorious Humour, that having first Trepan'd his great Fleet into the Streights of *Salamis*, where they were totally overthrown; next he sent him private Intelligence, That the *Greeks* design'd to demolish his Bridge over the *Hellepont*, to prevent his return to *Asia*; which Information, he foolishly believing, run for it, as for his Life. 'Tis true, *Themistocles* had propos'd such a thing to the *Grecian* Captains: but *Aristides* more prudently answer'd, *That it was fitter to make a Golden-bridge to a flying Enemy, than demolish a timber one already made*. But the many Tragedies acted by *Xerxes's* Authority after his return to *Sardis*, are sufficient Evidences of his Dastardly Nature; as the Emperor *Mauritius* rightly inferr'd from the base Temper of the Usurper *Phocas*, *That if a Coward, than exceedingly Cruel*: And so his Family found by sad Experience; for he destroy'd Man, Wife and Child in it. So that it appears to have been a great Reflection on *Alexander the Great*, in point of Opinion, That having order'd the Statue of *Xerxes* to be set up again, after his Soldiers had thrown it down, gave this silly Reason for it, *That tho' he was a great Enemy to the Greeks; yet he was a Prince of great Vertue*.

But let not any think, that I wish our Prince to go up and down the World, like another *Hercules*, or *Theseus*, to Hunt wild Beasts, or beastly Men out of their Dens; the World is  
now



now so Civiliz'd, that 'tis presum'd every King is a *mighty Hunter* in his own Dominions, and in a better Sense, than what is said of that first Usurper after the Flood: far less would I advise him to become such a *Rodomontado* as to Fight single *Combats*, whenever he can find a King's Son to Contend with; or like that foolish Roman Emperor *Commodus*, to throw down the Gantlet to every one, who has the Courage to try the skill of the Sword: No surely; I desire no such thing: For he who is bound by his Authority to discharge that pernicious Art of *Duelling*, from among his Subjects, ought not to countenance it by his own Example: since all Reasonable Men, may know, that as such a Hellish Practice is inconsistent with *Christianity*; so it is contrary both to Reason, and the Law of Nature.

*Augustus Cæsar*, in his younger Years, was one of the Bloody *Triumviri*; but afterwards, in his long and peaceable Reign, he so increased in Vertue, that in his Old-age he might truly say of Rome, *That he had found it Compos'd of Brick, but had left it of Marble*: And in the whole Tract of his Life, the People of Rome justly wish'd, *That either he had not been Born, or had never Dy'd*. Old *Marius* was the Reverse of this Wish; the longer he liv'd, he became the more fierce: and tho' he had been seven times Consul; yet in the last Consulute, he may be said, to have swim'd to his Grave in a Sea of Blood: nevertheless when the generality of the *Romans* wished, *He had been smother'd in his Swadling Cloaths*; they still excepted his opposing the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, who, in all probability, wou'd have overflow'd *Italy*, with as violent a Deluge,



as any subsequent Inundation of the Barbarous *Huns*, *Heruli*, *Goths*, *Vandals*, or *Lombards*; had not Divine Providence rais'd *Marius* to be an Invincible Rampart against 'em: For he was certainly a Man of more than ordinary Courage and Conduct, tho' outrageously Cruel. Nay, that Cowards are Cruel, is so much confirm'd by the Experience of the World, that I doubt if any Instance can be given to the contrary; unless where the Divine Power has interpos'd, and restrain'd the Inclinations of such Dastardly Natures.

But this is not always reciprocally true, for tho' *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Vitellius*, *Domitian*, *Heliogabalus*, *Commodus* yet *Caracalla*, were prodigiously Cruel; and they were also infamous for Cowardise: But *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Catiline*, *Mark Anthony*, *Tiberius*, *Septimius Severus*, the Gigantine Emperor *Maximinus*, and *Aurelianus*; tho' all were Cruel, yet were they never accounted Cowards. The same may be said of many *Greek* Emperors, tho' call'd *Christians*; especially *Justinian* the II<sup>d</sup>. and Old *Andronicus*. As for the *Ottoman* Race, now nestled there, *Bajazet* the 1<sup>st</sup>. *Mahomet* the 2<sup>d</sup>. *Selimus*, the 1<sup>st</sup>. are reckon'd the most Cruel of their Emperors; and yet as fierce as any of them: And if we pass over to *Asia*, we find *Cosroes* the *Persian*, very Cruel, and yet very Fierce: So were two *Persian* Kings, long before him; *Cambyses* Son to the Grand *Cyrus*, and *Ochus* Son to *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Not many Years after the Death of that Tyrant *Ochus*, *Alexander the Great* mounted the *Persian* Throne, whose Courage is unquestionable; yet it is as little doubted that he shew'd a deal of Cruelty in the Extermination



termination of the *Thebans*, and their famous City; with this tincture of Ingratitude, That his Father had learned the Art of War from those gallant *Thebans*, *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*. The 4 great Captains of this Conqueror, after the Death of *Antigonus*, parted his Dominions among 'em they were all Valourous Men, neither find we any imputation of Cruelty to *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy*; yet *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* can hardly be vindicated from it; as for the *Seleucidae*, except the first of them, they were generally Cruel and Cowardly. The same may be said of the *Ptolomies*, excepting the three first in order: And it will need no small Dose of Charity to vindicate the great Conqueror *Tamerlane* from this brutish Ferity.

The Isle of *Sicily* was very prolifick of Tyrants: The two *Dionysii* were exceeding Cruel, yet reckon'd among the Cowards of the World: but not so, was *Phalaris* of *Agrigentum*, or *Agathocles* of *Syracuse*. And if we return to the Continent of *Europe*, we will find *Nabis* of *Sparta*, and *Alexander* Tyrant of *Phæres*, to have had some measure of natural Fierceness, but Cruel above measure: Such Princes were *Peter* of *Castile*; (justly term'd another *Nero*) *Erick* of *Sweden*; *Christiern* the Ild. of *Denmark*, and *Johannes Basilides* of *Musco*, if the half be true which *Polonian* Writers lay to his charge. I might mention in the last Age *Chanian Chungus*, that great and cruel Robber in *China*; and tho' some reckon the famous *Walstein* in that number, yet I shall suspend my Judgment till we cross the Sea to *Britain*, where *Richard* the IId. and *Henry* the VIIIth of *England*, with *Macbeth* of *Scotland*,  
will



will make up a part of that odious number: which might easily be further augmented, if we would take a view of the old *Assyrian* and *Ægyptian* Monarchs, with the Modern *Barbary*, as comprehending *Libya*, *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, where may be found many *Barbarossa's*, *Dragut's* and *Muleass's*, who are the lively Pictures of the Treachery, Cruelty and brutish Valour of old *Jugurtha*; and of a much Gallanter Man, the famous *Hannibal*, whose Courage and Conduct were nothing inferiour to that of the Great *Alexander*. But not to rake more in this Puddle, I shall to this bloody List, only add our own O. *Cromwell*; for I am not of the Lord *Hollis's* Opinion, *That he was a Coward*; Courage and Conduct in the Wars being the chief Properties which recommended that Cruel Usurper to the World.

But some Judicious Reader may say, what an impertinent Digression is this, from mentioning a single Combat, to range through the World, like a Blood-hound, in search of Sanguinary Princes? but if such a Censurer will be pleas'd to have a little patience, till two other are joyn'd to *Marius*, who had also some good in them, tho' drench'd in a Sea of Wickedness, and then the Connection will evidently appear.

The 2d. Instance, is that of *Antigonus* already mention'd, who had got as great a share of his Master *Alexander's* Dominions, as any of the rest of his Captains: yet such was his Avarice and Ambition, even in his greatest Climacterick, that nothing would content him, till he became *Heres ex asse*, or sole Heir to his Deceas'd Lord and Master; and therefore he

still



still encroach'd upon the Dividends of *Seleucus*, *Ptolomy*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*; long after the Tragedy of *Eumenes*: So that these Heirs-Portioners were necessitated to Confederates, in Opposition to that Turbulent Neighbour, that like a devouring *Leviathan*, they might constrain him to keep within due bounds: considering very prudently, That being such a Powerful Adversary, if he Attack'd 'em severally, he would easily swallow them up, and the Spectators could have no other comfort than that of *Ulysses*, to be the last whom the formidable *Cyclop* wou'd devour; or as the great *Cesar* and *C. Tacitus* said, long afterwards, of the ancient *Britones*, *Dum pugnant singuli, pereunt Universi*. They did therefore so effectually unite their Forces, that they bereav'd him in one Day of his hateful Life, and all his unjust Possessions, which they divided among themselves: So that his Son *Demetrius* was fain to shift for another Kingdom, notwithstanding of that foolish Vaunt of his Father, *That he wou'd as easily dissipate that Confederacy, as a Child doth a Flock of Birds*.

Yet this Proud Oppressour, had some good found in him, viz. his Banishing the *Argyraspides* so far from Home, that none of 'em ever saw their Native Country again; and that because these Prefidious Creatures had most inhumanly betray'd their Gallant General *Eumenes* into his Hands, whom he starv'd to Death, contrary to the Opinion of his more Generous Son. I remember, *Salmasius* in his *Defensio Regia*, Treating of the most Barbarous Assassination of King *Charles* the 1st. compares the *Presbyterians* (tho' himself was one of that Sect) to a Crew of Inhumane Robbers, who



who strip a poor Passenger naked, and tye him to a Tree in a Wood, where wild Beasts (the *Independants*) easily devour him. Such was *Antigonus* to *Eumenes*, a *Thracian* of mean Birth; yet of as great Courage and Conduct as any Captain *Alexander* left behind him: But that Haughty Prince, tho' he *hated the Traytor*, yet he *lov'd the Treason*.

The 3d. Example is of *Zeno*, a *Greek* Emperor, a most Vicious Prince, tho' call'd a Christian: For he had nothing to recommend him, save his large Liberality to the Poor; which sometime kept off the Judgments of God from falling upon him, as was told a poor Widow, whose only Daughter he had ravished from her to be his Concubine; who having frequently complain'd to God upon that Account, thought at last she heard a Voice in the Church of the Apostles, saying, That *the just Vengeance of Heaven would long before that time have fallen upon that Wicked Emperor*, had not his *Alms-deeds stav'd it off*: But his Reprieve after that Day was very short; for he was bury'd alive in one of his Drunken Epileptick Fits, by order of his own Empress, who fancy'd his Secretary *Anastasius* better than her despicable Husband, by whose Influence the Subject became Lord of her self, and of the Empire.

It is now high time to connect the Threed of this Discourse, namely, what was said of *Duels* with the succeeding Paragraphs.

This present King of *France*, not satisfy'd with the Title of *Le Grand*, tho' more properly belonging to his suppos'd Grandfather, is become so Presumptuous, like another *Alexander*, *Caligula* or *Domitian*, as to allow



low the Blasphemous Epithet of *Numen*, to be given to him by his inconsiderate Parasites; without minding, or not fearing the terrible Fatality which suddenly befell *Herod Agrippa*, when he heard, it seems with some Complacency, the Blasphemous Shout of the unthinking Mob. 'Tis the Voice of a Gad, and not of a Acts 12. 22. Man. That most loathsome Disease call'd by Physicians *Pthiriasis*, hath been the signal Plague of many Proud and Cruel Princes: Whereby they might read their Sin in their Punishment; that as they took Delight to suck the Blood of Innocents, so the Divine Vengeance caus'd infinite Swarms of most loathsome Vermine breed in their corrupted Flesh and Blood; that, as 'tis said of the Viper, they might at last tear out the Bowels of their own Mother. For besides this *Herod Agrippa*, such was the Fate of his Grandfather *Herod the Great*, of *Sylla* the Cruel Roman Dictator, of *Galerius* the Persecuting Emperor, and *Philip* the II<sup>d</sup>. of *Spain*, not to mention divers others. It is indeed an Observation concerning ancient Tyrants, That only three of 'em dy'd in their Beds, viz. *Dionysius* the elder, *Sylla* and *Tiberius*: But it may be reduc'd to a narrower circle, if *Sylla* be excepted: And I am confident, he would have preferr'd any violent Death to this most loathsome Disease.

As for the three fore-going Instances, design'd for Application in this Place, they must needs be strangers to the Life and Actings of *Lewis* the XIV<sup>th</sup>. who observe not in him a near Resemblance to the worst of their Vices; but he comes far short of the Courage and Conduct of *Marius* and *Antigonus*: For if  
great



great Guns had been then in fashion, instead of keeping themselves out of their reach, when their Armies were about to Engage, they would rather have said with the Renown'd Charles the Vth. *That never Emperor or King was kill'd with a Cannon-Ball*; even when the Enemies Guns had almost beat down his Pavillion.

But as to his Depredations upon his Neighbours, he is a most exact Parallel to *Antigonus*, with the same Avaricious Design of an Universal Monarchy, at least in *Christendom*: the *Grand Seignieur* being his great Padron, to which *Infidel* Prince he hath prov'd more Faithful than to any other Friend, Neighbour or Ally. In Opposition to his Ambitious and Unjust Designs, many Princes and States were necessitated to enter into an Offensive and Defensive League; which, considering their different Religious Perswasions and Interests, was more lasting then could have been expected, or can be match'd in any Secular History; It having out-liv'd that of *Cambray* by many Years,, tho' a Pope and an Emperor, with the two greatest Kings in *Europe*, had all combin'd against the poor *Venetians*. 'Tis true, as an *Italian* Pope soon deserted the one, so an *Italian* Prince most ungenerously abandon'd the other; but the Vertiginous Nature of the Duke of *Savoy* did not discourage the rest who Valourously stood their Ground, till he, who did fly so long with borrow'd Wings, was constrain'd to restore many fair Plumes, whereof he had most unjustly spoil'd his Neighbours.

Yet there is one kind of Oppression wherein he bears *the Bell away*, not only from *Antigonus*,



*tigonus*, but from all the Tyrants in the World, the great *Turk* himself not excepted: and that is, the Oppression of his own Natural Subjects, whom by the Terror of a powerful Army, he has most miserably Enslav'd; especially, the poor *Protestants*, whose Lives he has made more bitter than Death: For the pretended Cloak of Religion, is not large enough to palliate the many Myriads, who have suffer'd under that Pretence; yet when they were most numerous, they exceeded not the 7th part of *France*; but in that proportion, 100000 resolute Men might have been found to divert him from exotick Oppressions, and to verify on him, that old Maxim, *Insuperantis est dicere non putavi*: It being the Opinion of some Casuists, perhaps none of the meanest, *That if it be lawful for any Man to Fight for his Property, he may defend that Religion which is secur'd to him by Law, as his principal Property*. And suppose it were otherways; yet it is no wonder that great Oppression makes wise Men mad.

But if that Ambitious Monarch is so fond of the Title of Emperor, let him be call'd, The Eleventh Persecuting Emperor, with his *Apostolick Dragoons*, instead of *Lictors* with Rods and Axes, going before him: But what Pope hath Dispens'd with his breaking those many Oaths whereby he Confirm'd the Edict of *Nants*, as did also his Father and Grandfather? Sure it was not *Innocent* the XI. who detested that method of Profelyting; well knowing, That tho' Religion was pretended, yet a most Hellish piece of Policy was really intended, which succeeding Generations will hardly believe; namely, That a Prince should



should Persecute those in his Majority, who had been very instrumental in keeping the Crown upon his Head in his Minority; and to give this Reason for it, *That they who had Power to keep him in Possession, might easily dispossess him, if they thought fit.* A Politick! which if frequently practis'd, would undoubtedly overturn all the Justice and Gratitude that ought to be in the World.

Let us next consider his breach of Oaths and Promises to his Neighbour Princes and States, as well as to his own Subjects, for which we have 4 solemn Authentick Witnesses, *viz.* the Treaties at *Munster*, the *Pyrenees*, *Aix la Chapelle*, and *Nimeguen*; and if things he duly consider'd, the latest one at *Reswick*, will be found the fifth Violation. I shall only insist on the *Pyrenean Treaty*, because so much Trouble has been created to *Europe* upon the Account of that *Matrimonial Contract*, which was concerted there; whereby all Right or Title to the Crown of *Spain*, by Virtue of that Marriage, was solemnly, and more than once, Renounc'd, by Oath and Subscriptions of both the Parents. I confess, *Henry the 7th. of England*, was wiser than *Philip the IVth. of Spain*, in giving his Eldest Daughter to the King of *Scots*, and but the 2d. to the King of *France*; yet I am perswaded, tho *Lewis the XIIth.* had been so stated, as his Successour happen'd to be, he would never have made such Enquiry, *after such Solemn Vows and Oaths*, as others have done: But it must be remember'd that he was *Lewis the Just*.

But to shew how Ridiculous the pretended *Retraction* of that *Contract* may be justly reckon'd, whether made by Father or Son;  
we



we need no other Demonstration, than to consider a parallel Case, namely, The Renunciation of the Crown of *Sweden* by the Daughter of the Famous *Gustavus Adolphus*: for *Christina* was undoubtedly Queen both *de facto*, and *de jure*, when she voluntarily resign'd in favour of her Gallant Cousin *Charles Gustave*. Let us then suppose, that this Vagrant Queen had Marry'd when she came to *Rome*, and that her Eldest Son should now come to lay Claim to the Crown of *Sweden*, pretending, That his Mother's Renunciation, made before he was in being, could not take away his Right: No doubt, the People of *Sweden*, and much more that admirable Young Hero, that now sits at the Helm, would readily conclude, That such a Pretender were making for Bedlam; and the mildest Answer that could be expected to such a Claim, would be such as is usually given by all the Kings and Queens of *Spain*, since the Death of *Alphonso* the Vth. of *Castile*, unto the Dukes of *Medina Cæli*, who fail not, once in their Life-time, to put up a Petition to the King Regnant, for Restitution of the Crown of *Spain* to them, who are Heirs of the Family of the *Cerdæ*: The Answer is, *There is no room for him*. But if there were room for Justice, and place for that *jus Representandi*, which should Regulate Successions of that Nature; it would be found that the Crown of *Castile* has been unjustly Possess'd these 4 last Ages; for *Ferdinand de la Cerd*, was the Eldest Son of *Alphonso* the Vth. and tho' dying before his Father, yet left divers Children behind him; all which, by the Force and Fraud of *Sancho*, Younger Son to *Alphonso*, were put beside the  
Cushion,



Cushion, and remain Dispossest'd to this Day ; the Posterity of *Sancho*, retaining still the Possession of that Throne.

Now let all who have a regard to Truth, or the Honour of Princes take this fair Occasion to lament the great Degeneracy of the Princes of *Europe*, from the Candour and Ingenuity of their Predecessors ; for so much Morality reign'd amongst 'em before they were call'd *most Christian*, that a King's Word was thought equivalent to another Man's Oath ; and therefore it was call'd, his *Word of Honour* ; implying, that he forfeited his Honour, if he falsify'd his Word. *Alphonso* of *Arragon*, the Adopted Heir of *Naples* by Queen *Joan* the Ild. us'd to say, *That the Nutus, or Beck of a King, doth bind him as much to Performance, as another Man's Word or Oath*: And partly on this account, he is justly celebrated by *Æneas Sylvius*, *Facius* and *Antonius Panormita*, as one of the most Generous Monarchs of his Age. Nay, among the Ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, Perfidiousness was judg'd the most Ignominious Title, cou'd be given to any great Man. *Lysander* the *Lacedæmonian*, was undoubtedly, a General of great Conduct, having ruin'd the State of *Athens*, and thereby put an End to the long lasting *Peloponnesian* War ; yet his usual Saying, *That as Children were deceiv'd with sweet Junkets, so were Men with Oaths*, render'd him Infamous through all *Greece*: And because *Dionysus* the Elder, did frequently talk so, and practise accordingly, his Infamy will continue till the end of the World.

It is also observable, that the ancient *Romans*, besides their Taxing the *Carthaginians* and



and other *African* Nations with their *Fides pu-  
nica*, accounted all Barbarous Nations, Prince  
or People, generally Treacherous; and were  
seldom mistaken: Thus divers of their Histo-  
rians Brand the Old *Britons*, *Scots* and *Picts*  
with that ignominious Epithet, which the  
*Britons* had as good reason afterwards to  
charge upon the *Saxons*. But from hence we  
may the more clearly discover the Treachery  
of the *Turks*, even the *Ottoman* Family being  
Infamous for neither keeping Word nor Oath;  
especially *Mahomet the Great*, as greatly Per-  
fidious as any of 'em all, his Father *Amurath*  
the 2d. being more constant to his Word: yet  
when *Solyman the Magnificent* appear'd on the  
Stage, People began to conclude, That the  
Royal Line was purged from that *Barbarity*;  
for he was A Prince of his Word, and exactly  
observ'd the Capitulation made with *Philip-  
pus Valerius Liliodamus*, Grand Master of  
*Rhodes*; tho' it seems, this Generosity dy'd  
with him. For his Son *Selymus* the 2d. did al-  
low that Villanous *Basha*, *Mustapha*, most  
inhumanely to violate those Honourable Con-  
ditions granted to Seignour *Bragadino*, for Sur-  
rendering *Famagusta*, the strongest Fort in *Cy-  
prus*. Perhaps, some Christian Princes have  
learned some of their Cheatry from their Infidel  
Allies: But that it proceeds rather from Per-  
verseness of Nature in the *Turks*, than Igno-  
rance of the Immorality of it, is evident from  
the Exclamations of *Amurath* the 1st. (a  
Grand Seignior before *Mahomet* the 2d.) a-  
gainst *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*, for Viola-  
ting, without any Provocation, that League  
he had lately made with the *Turk*: And if



we believe some Historians of that time, the said *Amurath*; in the heat of the Battel at *Var-na*, when the Christian Army was on the prevailing Hand, complain'd to the Lord *Jesus*, as the Christians God, and entreated he might take Vengeance on those, who had falsify'd that Oath taken in his Name. Whether this was true or not, 'tis most certain, the Christians got a great Defeat there, and their unhappy Leader was slain upon the Spot: which was generally judg'd a most signal Punishment, for his most Scandalous Perjury.

But 'tis a more remarkable Observation of some Ingenious Persons, That the Infamous Perjury, which some Princes in the Western Parts of *Europe*, have been guilty of, did first arise from the pretended Power of the Bishop of *Rome*, whereby he takes upon him to dispense with the most Just and Solemn Oaths, if the Violation of 'em can contribute to the Advancement of the *Catholick Cause*: As if *St. Paul* had been really, what *Festus* term'd him, when he expressly order'd all Christians, *never to do Evil, that Good may come of it*. What Physicall Evil befell the King of *Hungary*, for breaking his Faith with *Amurath* the 1st. is already told: And 'tis well known, that it was by the Instigation of that Cardinal *Julian*, whom Pope *Eugenius* the IVth. had sent with that *Mark of the Beast*, a pretended Dispensation for that Effect: Such another was transmitted from that Foolish and Haughty Prelate, Pope *Paul* the IVth. to persuade *Henry* the IIId. of *France* to break that Peace he had lately made, and confirm'd by Oath, with *Philip* the IIId. of *Spain*, with as bad Event as the former; save only, that the Transgressing  
King



King was not at the Battel of *S. Quintins*, when the *French* were so totally Routed, that *Charles* the Vth. in his Monastick Cell, admir'd, that his Son had not ascended immediately to *Paris*, and seiz'd on that Capital City; which he might easily have done, before the Duke of *Guise*, and the *French* standing Forces, could be brought from *Italy*.

And the more to deter others from such corrupt Practices; it should not be forgot, That the visible and sudden Judgments of Heaven, not only besell such provaricating Princes; but also the principal Instruments: for Cardinal *Julian*, like another *Apostate*, was kill'd in the Flight, none knowing by what Hand; for it could not be by the *Turks*, since he shifted for himself before the Christian Army fell to Rout. He who Agented the Matter with the *French* King, was another Cardinal, viz. *Caraffa*, one of the Pope's Nephews; but his Ecclesiastick Relation did not save him from a violent Death, by order of Pope *Pius* the IVth: of which Atheistical Cardinal, the great *Thuan* tells us, That when he was nigh to *Paris*, in order to promote that Impious Act of Dissolution, the simple ignorant Mob, crowded about him, and ador'd him as a Demi-God, as being the Pope's Legat a Latere, from whom they expected no small Blessing; He was heard muttering these Words, *Si hic populus vult decipi, decipiatur*: Which might have been pertinently apply'd to his whole Transaction.

Another corrupt Source of the Publick Infidelity of Popish Princes, is that hellish Maxim, *No Faith is to be kept with Hereticks*: Which, tho' in the Eyes of Sober *Jews*, *Mahometans* and *Pagans*, repugnant to Justice



and Reason, and that prime Dictate of the Law of Nature, *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris*; was nevertheless, so well approv'd, and improv'd by the Council of *Constance*, that thereby the too Credulous Emperor *Sigismund*, was persuaded to connive at the Violation of that safe Conduct he had given to *John Huss*; as if, according to *Becanus* the Jesuit, it had imply'd no more, *Than the safe Conduct of a Thief to the Gallows*. Thus that same individual Council, which presum'd Sacrilegiously to rob Christian People of the half of the Communion, directly contrary to our Saviour's express Command; endeavour'd also to Cheat all Christian Princes of their Fidelity to God and Man; notwithstanding of the Divine Prohibition to the contrary. And that this Detestable Doctrine is too much hugg'd by the Zealots of *Rome*, may appear from the Deportment, both of King and People, towards the poor *Protestants* of *France*; yea, long before their late Persecution, even in the Infancy of the Reformation, some bigotted Courtiers, advis'd *Charles* the Vth. to put in practice that Infamous Axiom of the Council of *Constance*, in *Martin Luther's* Case; notwithstanding of that safe Conduct he had given him to come to the City of *Worms*. I cannot determine whether that Young Prince, had heard that Prophetick Story concerning *J. Huss*; namely, his saying. when he was ty'd to that fatal Stake, *You do now burn a \* Goose, but out of my Ashes, shall arise a Swan † about 100 Years hence, which all Germany shall not be able to destroy*. But 'tis certain, that Noble Emperor profess'd a great Abhorrency of that most Scandalous Doctrine of the Council of *Constance*;

\* *Huss* in the Bohemian Language signifies a Goose,

† *Luther* in the Saxon Language signifies a Swan.



stance; and no small Indignation against the too great Simplicity of his Predecessor; and thus concluded, *Tho' Faith was lost amongst the most part of Mankind, yet it ought to be found among Emperors, Kings and Princes.*

That the Emperor *Sigismund* repented of his being so Trepan'd by that Council, we may learn from his Behaviour, long after that Meeting, towards one of his Captains, to whom he had promis'd a considerable Sum of Mony for some great piece of Service: But finding his Exchequer almost empty, he refus'd, and told the Soldier, as the Citizens of *Hammel* did the py'd Pyper, *That a far less Sum might suffice for all his Pains*: But how soon that bold Son of Mars, put him in mind of his Promise, and told him plainly, *That without his consent, to whom it was made, he could not be acquitted of that Obligation; nor refile from his Word, without the loss of his Honour, as a Prince; and his Conscience, as a Good and Just Man.* The Emperor instantly reply'd, *That it was indeed, a part of the Character of an Inhabitant of Sion, That he Swears to his own hurt, (not of his Conscience, but his Fortune) and changeth it not; and that a Good Man is bound to stand to his Word, tho' not confirm'd by Oath: Therefore, concluded he, if you will not pass from my Promise, I am resolv'd to perform it, rather than lose any Feather of my Honour.* This was infinitely more Noble, than the Answer of a King of *Japan*, not long ago, to some Jesuits, who challeng'd him for breach of Promise: *What, said that Naughty Prince, Do ye apprehend that my Tongue is made of Bone?* A most unworthy Answer, to drop from any Prince, in



what Part of the World soever : And sure I am, that all such Princes, who neither fear nor regard an Oath, how high and mighty soever their worldly Circumstances may be ; are, in the just Esteem of the World, really fallen from the highest Point of Honour, to the lowest of Contempt.

But to return to our Eleventh Persecuting Emperor : As the Proverb forbids us, *to bely the Devil*, so among the Immoralities of that Ambitious Monarch, there is *one good Thing found*, which in *this House of Jeroboam*, is very commendable, and will render him truly Famous in History, to future Ages ; namely, the total Suppression, and utter Extermination of the *Diabolical Trade of Duelling* : a Design, which none of his Predecessors could make effectual, tho' frequently attempted by them. And considering, that the Genius of that Nation, is generally, so Cholerick and Fierce, that for a *matter of Moonshine*, if they fancy, the Point of Honour, in the least concern'd, they will not stick to sacrifice both Souls and Bodies to the Devil ; And that upon this account many thousands, perhaps of the best Blood of the Nation, in a few Years, have found a bloody Winding-sheer upon that fatal Scene, The full abolishing of such a destructive Practice, is the more to be admir'd. For this present Monarch, hath taught his Subjects, that great Point of true Politics, To esteem every Action Ignominious, which is contrary to the Law of God, and the positive Laws of the Land ; and that every Lawful Prince is the Fountain of Honour within his own Dominions, because the Supreme Legislator. So that this great Work,

doth



doth far excel, both intensively and extensively, all the good things instanc'd in his three Parel-  
 els. It was indeed, very good Service in *Mari-  
 rius*, to defeat and bring to nothing 600000  
*Cimbri*, who were ready to swallow up his  
 whole Country: But it must be remembred,  
 that most of those Barbarians, were *Plebeians*,  
 or at best *Plebeian Heads*: So that the Cou-  
 rage and Conduct of one *Plebeian Consul*, did  
 preponderate them all. *Antigonus* did a good  
 Office, in point of Justice, in banishing a Pack  
 of Villanous Rascals, who had betray'd as  
 Gallant a Man as liv'd in his time; But what  
 is that to the restraining many thousands from  
 murdering themselves and Neighbours, both  
 in Soul and Body. It was well done in *Zeno*,  
 to be so Charitable to many poor Families;  
 if a wicked Man can properly be call'd Chari-  
 ble: But the Charity of *Lewis* the XIVth.  
 may be truly said to extend to the whole Na-  
 tion; especially, the greatest Families: The  
 young Sparks of the Nobility and Gentry, up-  
 on a mistaken Point of Honour, being as for-  
 ward to sacrifice themselves to the Devil, as  
 were the Pagans to make Oblation of their  
 Children to *Molech*, or *Saturn*. It was there-  
 fore an egregious Act of Charity, to prevent  
 those fatal Combustions, which were ready  
 to make them Fewel to Everlasting Burnings.

It was well observ'd, long agoe, by \* *Plu-  
 tarch*, That God is pleas'd sometimes, to spare  
 wicked Men long, without any visible Judg-  
 ment; because in his Infinite Wisdom, He  
 thought fit to make 'em instrumental in doing  
 some great Good to the World; and therefore  
 He permits them to live till that great Work  
 be effectuated. For which, the said Author  
 gives

\* In that Ex-  
 cellent Treas-  
 ure de sera  
 Numinis  
 vindicta.



gives many Notable Examples; which the Curious Reader may see in the Treatise it self. If that Wise and Vertuous Philosopher had liv'd in our Days, 'tis very probable, he would have added another Instance, no less pregnant than any he takes notice of. And since, it seems; the Historians, Preachers, or Confessors of that *French* Monarch, have not the Courage to tell him his Faults; but rather Cajole him in his Vices, as if they were Royal Vertues: I heartily wish they wou'd, at least, persuade him seriously to peruse the above-mention'd little Treatate, where the Ingenious Author gives divers other pertinent Reasons, wherefore it pleaseth God to reprieve the Punishment of those, who are Grey-headed in Wickedness. And it is most observable, that tho' this *Pagan* Author knew nothing of H. Scripture; as appears, both from his *Morals* and *Lives*; yet by the glimmering Light of Nature, he stumbles upon a Scripture Expression, when he tells us, *That a thousand Years, in God's sight, are but as one Day, when it is past*: And from thence, pertinently concludes, *That tho' Divine Justice seems to have leaden Heels; or to be slow in the pursuit; yet it hath Hands of Brass, and Teeth of Steel*. So that when it begins, it will make an end and fully compensate its Delay, by the weightier Stroak: As it is emphatically express'd by the Poet:

*Ad pœnam tardus Deus est, ad præmia velox;  
Sed pensare Solet vi graviore moram.*

Altho' I have been prolix, and perhaps tedious, on this unaccountable Practice of Duelling; yet there is something, relative to it,  
yet



yet to be consider'd; namely, the Manifestation of the Personal Valour of some Sovereign Princes, or Champions for States; in the same manner, but for more Noble and Christian Ends. There is a vast difference betwixt *de lana caprina certatio*, or a meer Trifle, which is the motive of most single Combats; and the voluntary publick Engagement of a Prince, meerly from a Principle of Paternal Love to his Subjects, to prevent the further effusion of innocent Blood, or determine some great Controversy 'twixt Neighbour States; which, in all Probability, could not be Decided in the common Course of War, without much Blood and Treasure, on both Sides. Thus the long Contest 'twixt the *Romans* and *Albans*, Whether the Politick Mother or Daughter should have the Preheminence; was referr'd to the Valour of the *Curatii*, for the *Albans*; and *Horatii* for the *Romans*: So that these three Brethren on each side, and of one Birth too, if we believe some Historians, were not private Duellers, but publick Champions of their respective States. And, in my Judgment, all such Adventurers, tho' they come off with their Lives, are to be rank'd in the same Category with *Codrus* the *Athenian*, and with *Curtius*, and the two *Decii* among the *Romans*: All which, most willingly devoted themselves to Death, for the good of their respective Countrys. Yea, that voluntary Oblation of the *Athenian* Prince, in compliance with the Response of the Oracle, was so acceptable to his Nation, that immediately, they discharg'd Monarchical Government; as despairing to find any worthy to succeed so Loving and Generous a Prince. Neither must we



we forget an Instance nigher at hand, both as to time, and place, of two Princes, who engag'd in a single Combat, in view of both Armies, to obviate the effusion of more Christian Blood; viz. *Canutus* King of *Denmark*, and *Edmond Ironside* of *England*, who, according to some *English* Historians, went into an Isle in the River *Severn*, and Fought it stoutly a long time; but finding by mutual Experience their Valour, tho' not their Height, to be equal; they at last amicably divided the Kingdom of *England* betwixt 'em, the Survivor to enjoy all.

There is a Story in *Camerarius's* Meditations; which like the Reverse of this, began Comically, but ended Tragically: He reports, That when the French and English Army were Confronting one another, some wise and peaceable Men, on both sides, proposed a solitary Interview betwixt the two Kings, that they might first essay, if they could Accommodate the Matter betwixt themselves; if not, that since they were both Brave enough, they might Decide the Controversy with their Swords; being mostly concern'd in it. Accordingly, they ascended a little Mount in sight of both Armies, where stood an old ruinous Chappel, into which having enter'd, and communed a little, they amicably agreed: But as they were about to remove, a great Serpent starting out of the Rubbish, pursu'd 'em; so that being oblig'd for defence of their Lives, to draw their Swords, and to get out of the Chappel, that they might have the more scope to use them; the two Armies, from thence concluded, they were engag'd in a mortal Quarrel, and immediately joyn'd Battel. Where the Author had this strange Story, I cannot



cannot Divine, 'tis not to be found in any *French*, or *English* Historian, that ever I could see: and the omission of such a wonderful Occurrence, had been a great Reflection on their Fidelity; yea, it appears the more Romantick, that no account is given of the King's Names, nor the time when it happen'd. There were, indeed, many Quarrels betwixt these Nations; and three great Conflicts, viz. at *Cressy*, *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*; but not only the Year of God, but also the Names of the Princes then Regnant, are particularly express'd; viz. *Philip de Valois* King of *France*, and *Edward* the III<sup>d</sup>. of *England*, at *Cressy*; King *John*, taken Prisoner at *Poitiers*, by *Edward the Black Prince*,; and *Henry* the V<sup>th</sup>. of *England*, and *Charles* the VI<sup>th</sup>. of *France*, at *Agincourt*: In all these, the *English* were Victorious; for the *French* being always Supernumerary, rush'd disorderly on the Enemy, as to a certain Victory; not remembering the old Maxim, *Nil est in hoste temnendum*: Nor that the Old *Gauls* were frequently Defeated by the well-disciplin'd Army of *Julius Caesar*; tho' they were sometimes Ten to One.

It is also very observable, That a publick Indication of Personal Courage in a Prince, by throwing down the Gantlet, to another of his own Quality, contributes very much to the inhancing of his Honour; tho' the Challenge was not accepted. Thus *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, required King *Demetrius*, tho' older than himself, to fight for the Kingdom of *Macedon*; for their Titles were alike craz'd: And sent the same Challenge to his Son *Antigonus Gonatas*, who was younger than *Pyrrhus*: But  
being



\* because of  
his great  
Head.

being refus'd by both, the Challenger was magnify'd in the Eyes of all *Greece*, and the Recufants lost the Hearts of the *Macedonians*; all of 'em being ready to prefer a Couragious, to a Cowardly Prince. Yea, if a Prince is known to be a Person of extraordinary Valour, there are few Traitors, who, either publicly or privately, will adventure to set upon him: For this, all the *Scotch* Historians afford us a remarkable Instance, in *Malcom* the III<sup>d</sup>. call'd *Canmore*: \* this Generous Prince, being credibly inform'd, That divers of his Nobility had combin'd, privately to take away his Life, call'd for the principal Conspirator, that he might go a Hunting with him; and when he came to a desert place, he made a sign to his Retinue to pass forward, as having some private Discourse with that Nobleman: Then alighting from his Horse, he drew his Sword, and order'd the Nobleman to do the like; who answer'd, *That he was glad to see his Majesty in such a merry mood, as to become a Gladiator with any of his Subjects*: No, said the King, I am in good earnest; I desire not to be butcher'd in my Bed, as you, and some others (whom he nam'd) have resolv'd to do; But if you kill me here, I shall Die in the Bed of Honour, and before-hand, I will forgive you my Death: The Nobleman being Confounded with his own Guilt, and the Generous Resolution of his Prince; fell down at his Feet, begg'd Pardon; and obtain'd it: For that *Great Soul*, was as full of Clemency as of Courage. But we do not afterwards Read of any Combinations against him; all being amaz'd at the extraordinary Valour of their Prince.

Such



Such a publick Demonstration of Personal Courage, in singular Engagements, not only enhanceth the Honour of the Prince, but many times, serves to Defeat a whole Army of Enemies, who become altogether dispirited, when they see their great Champion overcome by the Chief of the opposite Army. Thus *Romulus*, *Torquatus*, *Corvinus* and *Marcellus*, all Gallant Roman Generals, having with their own Hands kill'd the Generals of the Enemy, in the Face of both Armies; so frightened the Forces of the opposite Party; that they almost instantly run for it: in Imitation of the *Philistines*, who immediately fled, as soon as their Gigantick *Goliath* was kill'd by Young *David*. And the Personal Valour of King *Robert* the 1st. of *Scotland*, furnam'd *the Bruce*; shou'd not be forgot, who answer'd the Challenge of a Knight, before the two Armies joyn'd at *Bannock-burn*, and having kill'd him, did thereby, if we believe the *Scotch* Historians, greatly encourage his own People, and so dishearten the Enemy; that this was judg'd the greatest cause of the great Victory, the *Scots* there obtain'd.

In the Posterior Ages, we find few Instances of this Nature; which argues a pitiful paucity of Publick Spirits. But whether this proceeds from a lesser degree of Courage in Modern Princes, or a greater measure of Selfishness, I shall not determine. Yet 'tis worth the while, to recreate the Reader, after the Fatigue of so much *Duelling*, by two Examples of ineffectual Combats, betwixt two pair of Princes of a latter Date; yet the first is above 4 Ages old: It was propos'd betwixt *Charles*, Brother to *St. Lewis* of *France*,  
the



the first of the Family of *Anjou*; who was in actual Possession of the Kingdom of *Naples* and Isle of *Sicily*, to both which, he pretended a Right from the Pope's Donation: His Antagonist, was *Peter*, King of *Arragon*, who had a spurious Title to *Naples*, because he had marry'd the Daughter of *Manfred the Bastard*, who had usurp'd that Crown from *Conrad* the Son of *Frederick* the II<sup>d</sup>. but a much better Right from Young *Conradin*'s Declaration on that fatal Scaffold at *Naples*. On the Account of these Pretensions, he provok'd K. *Charles* to a Personal Combat at *Bourdeaux*, in presence of *Edward* the I<sup>st</sup>. of *England*, then Lord of *Guien*; K. *Charles* was a Brave, tho' Cruel Prince, and Generously accepted that Cartel, tho' his Dwelling in the City of *Naples*, was remoter from the Scene of Action, than either *Barcelona* or *Sarragossa*, the ordinary Residence of the Kings of *Arragon*: But tho' K. *Charles* kept both time and place, where many Thousands had resorted to see that *Royal Duel*; yet the *Arragonian* was so far from keeping the Ground, that he seiz'd on *Sicily* at the very same time; *John* the Lord of *Prochita* having pay'd his Way thereunto, by the Tragical *Sicilian Vespers*. But tho' the K. of *Arragon* gain'd that Isle; yet in the Opinion of all Generous Persons, he lost the *Continent of Honour*; his Tergiversation at such a time, being an apparent Evidence both of Treachery and Cowardise.

The other Instance, is of a much latter date; it was in the Days of the Emperor *Charles* the V<sup>th</sup>. whose Army took *Francis* the I<sup>st</sup>. Prisoner at *Pavia*, whom he releas'd from his Captivity in *Spain*, on certain Conditions, he



he engag'd both by Word and Oath, faithfully to perform as soon as he came to *Paris*: but *Charles* thinking that he demurr'd in the performance, desir'd a Hearing in the Consistory at *Rome*, before Pope *Clement* the VIIth. and his Cardinals, where he most grievously inveigh'd against *Francis* as a Faithless Prince, in violating the Oath of God; and as an Unchristian King, for bringing in the *Turks* upon *Italy*; and then openly declar'd, That to prevent the Effusion of more Christian blood, he was ready to fight him, on Horse-back, or on Foot, in any indifferent part of the World. The *French* derided this Challenge to their absent Prince, as a vain Braggadocio; especially before a Company of Ecclesiasticks, who by the Canons of the Church, cannot sit as Judges, in any Criminal Court, where a Capital Offender is Arraign'd; neither ought to be Spectators of the Effusion of Human Blood. But when K. *Francis* assembled his Nobility, and gave the Lye to the absent Emperor, and Appeal'd him to a single Combat in any indifferent portion of the Habitable Earth, and with any kind of Arms; the *Spaniards* were as busy Laughing at the *French*: In short, it was a ridiculous Pageantry *hinc inde*, which began with Words, and ended with Wind.

I shou'd have put an end here, to this prox Property of *Heroick Fortitude*, were we not concern'd to add one particular in Vindication of the Honour of some Princes, who took not up the Gauntlet, when thrown down to 'em: I have already insinuated, that there ought to be parity of Dignity; otherways, a Prince is not bound in Honour to accept of such Challenge; but may handsomely decline

D

it,



it, in the Words of *Alexander the Great*, who thought himself bound *to Run only with Kings Sons*. But there is something else to be consider'd; namely Equality of Fortune, at least, no great Inequality; I mean, a prosperous Prince is not oblig'd to accept of a Challenge from one in a desperate State: The most considerable Example I can give for this, is the Case of *Augustus Caesar*, and *Mark Antony*; the latter being as glorious an Emperor in the *East*, for ten or twelve Years as the former was in the *West*: If largeness of Dominion, and abundance of Wealth and Power, are proper Ingredients of worldly Glory: Yet when the said *Antony*, who for Age, might have been *Augustus's* Father, provok'd that *Roman Prince* to fight him singly; and receiv'd no other Answer but this, *You may find many other means to dispatch your self out of the World, than by my Hand*: None reckon'd it a Reflection on the Honour of *Augustus*; tho' he was never reputed very Brave, as to Personal Courage; nay, if we believe his Antagonist, he was a great Coward: But the plain Reason was this, *Antony* was on the very brink of Ruin, having by his doating on *Cleopatra*, foolishly lost a great Navy at Sea, and a number of Legions at Land; so that being coop'd up in *Alexandria* by his Victorious Adversary, in a few Days he did that to himself, which his great Antagonist would not undertake; I mean, he forc'd his too Voluptuous Soul to take its flight into another World.



*The Second Property of Heroick Fortitude,  
is Justice.*

Which is, *A constant and perpetual Will to give every one his due.* This is the Duty of all Men; especially of those, who are invested with Superiority over others, in Church or State; the Supream Ruler of the World having declar'd, *That he, who Rules over Men, must be Just, Ruling in the Fear of God;* Which all Cowards, who are more apt to fear Man than God, can never duly observe; being too easily hector'd out of the Path of Justice; as is above insinuated. The two great Branches of this Cardinal Vertue being *Commutative, and Distributive Justice*; as the former belongs to all, so the latter, most properly and principally, to Sovereign Princes, whose Office it is to dispense Rewards and Punishments, according to the Merits and Faults of their Subjects: Or as the Scripture expresseth it, *To be a Comfort to the Good; and to be a Terror to the Evil.* That so they may not bear the Sword of Justice in vain.

It is well observ'd by some, and granted by all, That supposing there was no kind of Government in the World, all Men on the Face of the Earth, crowded together in one confus'd Company, could not justly put the greatest Malefactor to Death, no, not an apparent Murderer; till they unite, either Universally, or by Parcels, into some Form of Government: then immediately, the Great Legislator of the World, puts the Sword of Justice into the Hands of the respective Go-

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vernours



Gen. 9. 6.

vernours, and authorizeth them to put in Execution that Divine Law given to the New World, *Whoso sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed, for in the Image of God made he Man.* I say, it must be some kind of Government into which People must be united: Not that I approve the absurd Fancy of some high flown Monarchical Men, That the Sword of Justice is only put into the Hands of a Monarch, or single Person; whom a multitude of Families, or Individuals shall submit to as their Governour: For these consider not, that thus, all Criminals put to Death in an Aristocratical, or Democratical Government, tho' by the most exact Form of Law, are really Murder'd by their respective Judges and Executioners: Sure, the long flourishing Republicks in *Greece*, especially the two Eyes thereof, *Athens* and *Sparta*, (the last being an Aristocracy, because of its two Kings) wou'd have reckon'd this very strange Doctrine, and so may it be thought, by the long lasting State of *Venice* and *Genoa*, the United States of the *Switzers* and *Netherlands*, with the lesser Commonwealths of *Geneva*, *Luca*, *Ragusi*, and divers others.

But to return to Distributive Justice, an inseparable Vertue of a Good and Generous Prince: His Charity must begin at home; I mean, the Administration of Justice, which is a general work of Charity to all his People; *Salus populi Suprema Lex*, being their undoubted Birth-right, notwithstanding of Bishop *Sanderfon's* Endeavours to appropriate that Maxim to the Prince. It is unquestionably the Duty of every good King, and most agreeable to the true Ends of Government, to  
Rule



Rule according to Law; and consequently, to do Justice to all his Subjects: and this holds equally true, in an Elective, or Hereditary Monarchy. Nor can it be Reasonably thought, that *Unus de populo*, was at first set up to be Superiour to all, meerly like a glorious Idol, to be seen at a distance, and ador'd, as was that golden *Colossus* of *Nebuchadnezzar*: Such a piece of Pageantry being fitly resembled to the old *Ægyptian* Temples, which were very gorgeous and glorious without; but the only Object of Adoration to be found within, was an Ox, a Dog, a Serpent, an *Ichneumon*, a Crocodile, an Ape, or a Cat; either living, or by way of Imagery. Thus it was boldly answer'd by an Old Woman in *Macedon* to King *Philip*, Father to *Alexander the Great*, when he told her, he had not Leisure to do her Justice, *Then*, said she, *cease to be King*. Which unexpected Repartee, made such an Impression upon him, that he became a great *Justiciary*; tho' he fail'd in the End, and lost his Life upon that account. This is indeed apply'd by some *Roman* Historians, to the Emperor *Adrian*, and if we judge by the Event, it seems he was also concern'd in it: for as there were no doubt, as many Bold Old-wives in *Rome*, as in *Pella*; so 'tis well known, that *Adrian* in his younger Days, Travell'd through all the Provinces of the large *Roman* Empire, and mostly a-Foot, to Administer Justice to his Subjects, and Personally to redress their greatest Grievances; tho' in his Old-age, he became very Melancholick; perhaps, by Travelling always bare-headed, even in Winter; which render'd him Testy and Froward; so that he



became Cruel instead of Just ; it being reported of him, That having unjustly Sentenc'd a *Roman* Senator to Death; the injur'd wish'd, *That the Emperor himself might seek for Death, and not find it.* And so it fell out; when through the mighty Agony of his Disease, he complain'd, that the *Turba Medicorum interfecit Regem* : And 'tis given as a Reason, why, his Adopted Son *Antoninus* was Surnam'd *Pius*, because he pull'd the Knife out of his Father's Hand, when he saw him designing to dispatch himself.

As for that *Macedonian* Monarch, he was not only Assiduous on the Throne of Justice; but also most careful to Administer Justice to all his People, according to Law; as may appear from the following Instance : As one of his Subjects was defending himself against an unjust Pursuit, the King chanc'd to fall asleep upon the Bench; but as soon as he awak'd, being it seems asham'd to be found sleeping in such a Place; he immediately, hand-over-head, pronounc'd Sentence against the Defender, ordering him to pay the whole Claim: Whereupon, with a loud Voice he made an Appellation: The King being mightily offended therewith, said, *You Insolent Traytor, to whom do you Appeal; have I any Superiour upon Earth?* The Appellant readily answer'd, *I Appeal from King Philip asleep, to King Philip awake*: which oblig'd him to revise the Process; and finding he had wrong'd the Man, by his rash Sentence; tho' for his Honour he would not retract it; he privately refunded to the Defender what he had been order'd to pay unjustly to the Pursuer.

They are much mistaken, who imagine,  
that



that it contributes the more to the Reverence, awful Majesty and Supereminent Glory of a Prince, to be Inaccessible, unless on very solemn Occasions; and to keep at a distance from the generality of the People, especially the Plebeians; and when he is seen of them, that it ought to be, either on a most glorious Throne with Hundreds of Nobles about him, at least, so many of his Court gorgeously Apparell'd, as when the Czar of *Muscovy* gives Audience to any Foreign Ambassador; or in a publick Parade, through City or Country, with such a numerous Cavalcade, as hath the *Grand Seignieur*, when he Rides every *Friday*, as it were in Triumph, to his great Mosque at *Constantinople*: For on the other hand, say these Monarchical Parasites, if a Prince be found always Accessible and Affable, his too great Familiarity will turn to Contempt; at least, they who Address to him, will lose much of the Fear and Reverence, they formerly had, of Majesty; as is reported of one, who was exceedingly amaz'd at the first view of the Lyon, commonly call'd the King of Beasts; but by frequent interviews, his Fear so far vanish'd, that at last he had no more dread of him, than of an ordinary mastiff Dog.

The best Answer I can give to this long foolish Objection, is, in the Words of *Rodolph* of *Habsburg*, the first Founder of the present *Austrian* Greatness, who was a very Affable Emperor, ready to give Access to the meanest, who Address to him, with just Complaints, against the greatest of his Subjects, and in imitation of Almighty God, *To pull the Mighty from their Seats, and to exalt*



those of low Degree, if he found them worthy of such Advancement: as we may perceive, from his humbling that Proud King of *Bohemia*. This Excellent Prince being Cajol'd by some of his Courtiers, as it is in the Objection, thus answer'd, with no little Indignation, *What would you have me to do? Is it fit that I, who am an Emperor, should be lock'd up in a Box? If I follow your wicked Advice, I shall soon become one of those Luxurious Princes, who, to this Day, are infamous in History, for being Inaccessible to all their Subjects, save Eunuchs and Concubines; and if I follow their Voluptuous Footsteps, I have good reason to fear, I shall share in their Fatal and Shameful Ends.* Then he gave a more particular Account of his meaning, being a Learned Prince, and well vers'd in History. They must, said he, be strangers to the Occurrences of the World, who do not know, that the great Degeneracy of the old Assyrian Monarchs, so far below the Valour and publick Spirits of their Ancestors, brought Ruin in the end, upon that long lasting Empire; which Degeneracy begun with *Ninias*, the Effeminate Son of the Famous *Ninus*, who was so unlike to Father and Mother, that when the Virago *Semiramis* was employ'd about Martial Matters abroad, all his happiness, was to be immur'd among a vile Crew of Eunuchs and Concubines at Home; which became so habitual to those Luxurious Monarchs; that I doubt, if in the intermediate time, 'twixt *Ninias* and *Sardanapalus*, any Account can be given, from Authentick Records, of any six that were reputed Brave and Gallant Princes, altho' more than a Thousand Years elaps'd during that Interval;



interval : but the last of these, was so plung'd in Sensuality, that he was invisible to all his Subjects, except his Eunuchs and Concubines; even the Governours of his Provinces having no access unto him, but receiving their Orders from the Mouths of his Eunuchs. Arbaces being one of 'em, Governour of Media, and the principal of all his Lieutenants; and understanding that their Prince was so brutishly Effeminate, as to Spin among the Concubines, and in their Apparel, to prescribe them their feminine Tasks, he was mighty curious to see with his own Eyes such an unusual piece of vile Pageantry; it being more extraordinary in Nature, to find a Man transform'd into a Woman, than a Female into the Masculine Sex: Neither could he obtain that loathsome Satisfaction, tho' at a great distance, till he brib'd one of the Eunuchs with a Cup of pure Gold: But so full of Impurity did that wretched Object appear to him, that he rested not, till by the Assistance of Pul. Belochus, and other Provincial Governours, he constrain'd that Goatish Emperor to extinguish the fury of his Lust, with the Fire of his own Palace; which fiery Dispatch of himself, his Concubines and Eunuchs, may be justly term'd, the greatest Act of Justice he ever perform'd.

Thus likewise, continu'd he, the vast Saracen Empire, as it almost suddenly ascended to a great Height, by the Courage and Conduct of its first Founders, such as Ebubeker, Osman, Omar and Haly, with divers others; So it came speedily down by the Effeminacy of its Princes; I mean, these Caliphs of Ægypt and Babylon, who, as if they had been the Genuine Issue of Sardanapalus, retain'd no more to themselves, but that magni nominis umbra, and  
the



*the fulsome Pleasure of continual Dalliance with their Concubines, devolving all the care of War and Peace upon their Sultans; which Figures thought fit to rid themselves, and the World, of such empty Cyphers, by beating out their Brains, because they had neither Heads nor Hands to sway such a weighty Scepter.*

*But, subjoins this Excellent Prince, we need not Travel to Africk, or Asia for Examples of this nature: The famous Kingdom of France, nigher at hand, affords us a pregnant Instance; when we consider the Moral and Philosophical Causes of the final Ruin of the Merovingian Dynasty, which, no doubt, was usher'd in with the supine Negligence and Voluptuousness of that great Royal Family: For how soon they committed the whole Management of their Affairs to their Major Domo's, 'twas easy to Prognosticate their approaching Ruin. These were originally only the Comptrollers of the King's Household; and had nothing to do with state Affairs: But after Clotair the III<sup>d</sup>. to ease himself and his Successors, of a Burden so weighty, made them Vicars General of his Empire; then indeed, they became Domini facientes totum, dispatching every thing incumbent on the Kings themselves, who, from thence forward, follow'd their Pleasure, shewing themselves only on May-Day; and then being seated on a glorious Chariot, adorn'd with Flowers, and drawn with four white Oxen, they were admir'd by all the Fools, and pityed by all the Wise Men among their Subjects.*

*And thus they misbehav'd, in the time of Charles Martel, who in this great Trust of Major Domo, succeeded his Father Pepin,*  
*surnam'd*



*surnam'd the Fat, tho' but his Natural Son ; but he might have been Legitimate Son to the greatest Monarch in the World : For he was justly call'd Martel, from his Martial Prowess. He routed that vast Army of Moors and Saracens in the Battel of Tours, whereby he not only freed France from that present Danger ; but also added to the Crown the Province of Languedoc, formerly in the Possession of the Goths and Moors ; for which he was Created Duke and Prince of the French : Yet he thought not fit to dispossess the May-game King, tho' both the Kingdom and Title were wholly at his Disposal. And when it was suggested to him, That since he had the Thing, he might also assume the Name ; His usual Answer was, No-lo regnare, sed Regibus imperare. But his Son Pepin, Father to Charlemain, was not so squeamish ; for being of less Moderation than his Father, he made such use of his Power, that partly by that means, and partly under colour of an Election, confirm'd by Pope Zachary the Ist. he took the Kingdom to himself ; and the Unfortunate Chilperick, the fifth of that Name, had his Poll shaven, and was thrust into a Monastery : In which Religious House, he, of all others, was most remote from his proper Element, if he design'd to continue his old Trade ; for I suppose, Cloysters had not yet begun to degenerate much, from the strict Rules of their honourable Institution : But let us in Charity conclude, that the involuntary Monk, did afterwards undergo many severe voluntary Pennances, for his former Abominations.*

Now if the Candid Reader would have my Ingenuous Sentiment of this Matter ; I am  
fully



fully perswaded, That a Sovereign Prince, cannot possibly appear any where, with more Majesty and Glory, than when he advances, with the Pomp of a Criminal Judge, to the Throne of Judgment. For this, we have the Attestation of the Wisest of Earthly Kings :

*Prov. 20. 8. A King that sitteth on the Throne of Judgment, scattereth away all Evil with his Eyes :* Which *cumulus malorum*, doth not only comprehend all those Oppressours, who have much Physical Power, whereby they have wrung many Tears from the Oppressed, when they had no Comforter; but also all Malicious Pursuers, and Litigious Defendants; all false Witnesses, and groundless Accusers; Nay, all Sophistical Lawyers, and Corrupt Judges: For if search be made with *such Candles*, fifteen Tyrants twice told, may be discover'd in a small Kingdom; since in the little State of *Athens*, no fewer than 30 of 'em, were found sitting on one Bench: To all which, the Awful Presence of a Prince, known to be Inflexible in Justice, is no less Formidable, than that Dreadful *Carpet* fix'd on the *Ægyptian* Bench, on which *Cambyzes* order'd the Son of *Sysinnius*, to sit and do Justice to the People, to wit, *the Skin of his own Father*, who had been justly Excoriated for suffering his Eyes to be so often blinded with Bribes. That fierce *Persian* Monarch rightly concluding, That a more Awful Lesson could not be devis'd, to Teach the Son Justice, than the daily View of that terrible Monument, according to that of the Poet.

*Tum tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*



I hope none will imagine, I would have a King to be so Assiduous on the Throne of Judgment, as in Person, to Decide all Controversies among his Subjects, or to be always present when they are Determin'd by inferior Judges: He must be a *petit Roytelet* indeed, less than a *Roy de joydot*, who could thus dispatch all Civil and Criminal Business; unless Men become much better Natur'd than they are like to be: Nay, in a great Kingdom, the Shoulders of an *Atlas* or *Hercules* could not support such an intolerable Burden: And 'tis most certain, that there is but one King, who is Omniscient, Omnipotent, and every where Present. Thus, altho' *Moses* had all the People of *Israel* in one Camp, so that all of 'em might every Day attend that Throne, where he sat to Judge; yet his Father-in-law wisely told him; that by such a Method, *both he, and that People would soon wear away*: And therefore advis'd him to appoint Inferiour Judges, *able Men, such as feared God, Men of Truth, hating Covetousness*; that they might Judge the lesser Matters; but that the harder should be brought to *Moses* himself.

This Counsel ought to be so far follow'd by Christian Princes, as that, when Matters are difficult to be Determin'd by Inferiour Judges; as being either afraid of too powerful Persons, or sway'd by sinistrous means, from the streight path of Justice; then the Ear of a Prince should be pudent to all Complainers, upon Injustice done them; yet so, as with *Alexander the Great*, to reserve one Ear for the Accus'd. Thus *Constantine the Great*, tho' a Christian, came short of the Justice



Justice of a Pagan Prince, in Banishing the Great *Athanasius*, without allowing him a Hearing, to purge himself from the false Accusations of his implacable Enemies, the *Arians*. But a King according to God's own Heart, was more culpable in not punishing *Ziba*, after *Mephibosheth* made it appear how he had bely'd him; for in lieu of giving that Villanous Servant an equal Dividend of the Land, he ought in Justice to have divided his Calumnious Head from his Body. But hence, we may learn, that in this State of Imperfection, *nihil est ab omni parte beatum*; and that even the best of meer Men, have their own Failings. And on the other hand, a Prince is bound, in Justice, severely to punish those, who complain without Cause, and when the Sentence is found to be apparently Unjust, that wicked Judge, should be severely punish'd, that *others may fear*.

1 Pet. 2. 13.

It is acknowledg'd by all, That under Monarchical Government, the Authority of inferior Judges is deriv'd from the Sovereign Prince, according to that of the Apostle, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as Supream, or unto Governours, as unto them, who are sent by him*. They are therefore greatly mistaken, who imagine, that there are some Subordinate Judges from whom there lies no Appeal; which is a plain Contradiction; as if it were said, they are Subordinate and Dependent, and yet Absolute and Independent. Neither do they consider, that this imports an erection of an *Imperium in Imperio*; as if they had been plac'd in that Eminent Station, not only *jus dicere*, but also  
*jus*



*ius dare*; the *Dernier resort* being the most proper Character of a Sovereign Prince. But when he comes to judge, Whether is was *bene* or *male Appellatum*, 'tis always presuppos'd, That a Good and Wise Prince, will not fail, in all difficult Matters, to Consult Men of Knowledge and Conscience, and well skill'd in the Laws, both of God and Man: For, as saith the Wise Man, *in such Councillours* (Men of known Integrity) *there is Safety*: And there is great Sense in that common Maxim, *Plus vident oculi quam oculus*: It being Ironically spoken of *Lewis* the XIth. of France, *That he carry'd all his Counsel about with him upon one Horse*: But more of this afterwards. Yet one thing ought not here to be forgot, That 'tis the Interest of all Judges, Subordinate or Supreme, even as much as their Souls are worth, seriously and frequently to remember, That all Things and Persons will be Judg'd over again, before a more Dreadful and Impartial Tribunal, where the King and the Beggar must stand alike naked, and receive according to their Works. *Seneca*, by the Light of Nature, having told us in his Tragedies, *Omne sub Regno Graviore Regnum est*: And *Syracides* very Emphatically expresseth the Doom of Wicked Princes, in these Words, *God punisheth Potentes Potenter*.

Now since 'tis a *Postulatum*; That from an Independent Monarch, who is not Vassal to any Mortal, there can be no Appeal to any upon Earth: The Consideration of this, should make the Sovereign Prince exceedingly afraid to give just occasion, to the meanest of his Subjects, to Appeal unto the Supreme Judge of Heaven and Earth, who will  
not



not fail sooner or later, to be aveng'd on those, who, pretending to be his *Vicegerents*, have palpably deviated from the Paths of Righteousness and Truth: I shall instance two Appellations of this Nature. The first concerns the *Knights Templars*, who were generally deem'd to have become very Proud, because very Rich; but such Unnatural and Impious Crimes were laid to their Charge, by *Philip the Fair* of France, and *Clement* the Vth. being then Pope, that if really guilty of 'em, they were not worthy to breath one minute longer, who had so presumptuously provok'd the Breath-giver; but instead of Legal Proof, all the presumption they had against *that Order*, was the Confession of the *Great Master*, extorted from him by most violent Torture: yet when he was entring into that fatal Fire, (in which he and many other Knights of *the Order* were burnt, and their Ashes scatter'd in the Wind) he first crav'd pardon of God, for wronging the Truth; and then of *his Order*, for belying them, by saying, through extremity of Torture, what never entred into their hearts: and at last he cited *Philip the Fair*, and *Clement* the V. to appear, within Twelve Months, before the impartial Tribunal of God, to answer for that most unjust Sentence pronounc'd against him, and the Knights of his Order: For the Reader must know, that in all the Kingdoms of *Europe* they were no better treated, because of the informations the respective Princes had received from the Pope and King of France: whether these Popish Princes believed their supposed Head of the Church to be infallible in that matter, I shall not determin, but 'tis most certain, that  
both



both these Summon'd Grandees kept the Day; I mean, they dy'd within the Year.

He must needs be no good Lawyer, and a worse Divine, who imagines, That this Event amounted to a Demonstration of the Innocency of those Pannals, and Guilt of the Judges: For it is possible, that both might have trysted with Death at such a time; suppose these Knights had liv'd in as much Wealth and Honour as ever: yet it makes it a little more suspicious on the part of King *Philip*, his being too Sanguin in that Bloody Tragedy, when it is consider'd, that he design'd no less than the Propriety of all the Lands of the dissolv'd Order, to be settled for the behoof of his own German Brother, which would have made him the Wealthiest King in *Europe*; tho' Riches drench'd in Innocent Blood, are of a very bad Colour: Yet in this, he was disappointed, and if he wronged his Conscience in the matter, it was undoubtedly, a great aggravation of his Agony; for tho' he thought himself very sure, because the Pope when Arch-Bishop of *Bourdeaux*, was his absolute Creature, and by his influence was promoted to the Papacy, and then residing in his Bosom at *Avignon*; yet the Council at *Vienn* thought fit to bestow all these forfeited Lands of the *Templars*, on the *Knights Hospitalers*, or of *St. John of Jerusalem*, who first settled at *Rhodes*, and are now call'd, the *Knights of Malta*, having got that Isle from the Emperor *Charles the Vth.* after they were disposs'd of the Isle of *Rhodes*, by *Solyman the Magnificent*: All which Lands of the *Templars*, in all Popish Countries, are peaceably Possess'd by them, to this Day.

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The other promis'd Instance, is more wonderful, as to the speedy accomplishment of such a strange Citation : It is recounted at length by *Mariana*, in that part of his History which concerns *Spain* before the Conquest, by the *Moors* : He tells us of one of the *Gothish* Kings, who was so enrag'd at the private Murder of a Noble-man, his principal Favourite, that he caus'd seize upon two Brethren as guilty of that Horrid Crime, only in regard he was inform'd, they were pick'd at him, while he was the King's chief Minion : They ingenuously granted, they were sensible, he had wrongfully bereav'd them, with strong Hand, and against Law, of what justly belong'd to them ; but with-all Protested before the Omniscient God, they had no hand in his Death, nor knew who had committed that vile Fact ; and that for all the World they wou'd not have been guilty of Murdering the poorest Slave ; nay, abstracting from their being Christians, they wou'd not as Men, have dishonour'd their Family by such a base unworthy Act ; for they were well-born Gentlemen. Yet meerly upon that above-mention'd shadow of Presumption, the too hasty Judge Condemn'd them to be thrown down from the Top of a high Rock, where they were sure to find Death at the bottom : Whereupon the Eldest Summon'd the King to appear before the Tribunal of the Great King of Kings, to abide an Answer for that great Injustice, and that within Thirty Days : The same Summons was renew'd when they were on the Top of the fatal Rock, where many Thousand Spectators were beholding that sad Tragedy :



Tragedy ; the soberest of which, were ready to apply to that strange Citation, the Wise Man's Observation, *That Oppression makes a Wise Man mad.* Since it was improbable that their King shou'd Dye so soon, being a Healthful and Vigorous Youth, without fear of Foreign Invasion, or Intestine Commotion, or any Conspiracy against his Person : Yet it pleas'd God in his Over-ruling Providence, by a burning Fever, to hurry his Soul into another World, before the Month expir'd : From whence, many even then, concluded the two Brethren were Innocent, and that their Blood had cry'd for Vengeance upon that Rash and Unfortunate Prince. The best *Epiphonema* to this weighty Article, Is to obtest all Sovereign Princes, seriously to mind the above-cited Words of a King *divinely Inspir'd*, which cannot be too frequently thought on by all Rulers, *viz. He that Ruleth over Men, must be just, Ruling in the Fear of God.*

It is, I hope, sufficiently evinc'd, That a Prince is most Glorious when he sits upon the Throne of Judgment, dispensing Justice Impartially, according to Law, Reason, and Equity : 'Tis fit next to shew, That all such Princes shall be highly Rewarded, both here and hereafter, for doing what is incumbent on them by Virtue of their Regal Office : Who can doubt of this ? *Since the Judge of the whole Earth cannot do but what is right.* And 'tis expressly declar'd, that the right improver of the meanest Talents, shall meet with that most comfortable Applause in the great Day of Accounts, *Well done, good and faithful Servant ; thou hast been faithful over* Matth. 23. 23.



*a little, I will make thee ruler over much, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.* Altho' I'm much afraid, there are few Princes, who shall be found in the number of those Faithful ones; What *Suetonius* said of the good Princes in his time, being too justly applicable to Posterior Ages; That *all their Names might be easily Engraven on the Signet of one Ring*: Yet let those Just and Faithful Princes infallibly expect a great Reward also upon Earth, from all their Subjects, who have the least grain of Gratitude in them, namely, their internal Esteem, and cordial Love; Love and Fear blended together, which is the greatest Retribution, the most Generous Subjects can make to their Princes, for all their Cares and Pains: And what greater Oblation than pure Love? It will creep, when it cannot go; and no wonder, said the Philosopher, *That Love works Wonders, since Love it self is a Wonder.*

I know, it is the *Motto* of some foolish and bloody Tyrants, *Oderint dum metuant*: But such have found, by sad Experience, that (under God) the best Protection of the Lives of Princes, is the sincere Love of all their People, which is a surer Fence about 'em, than a Guard of 10000 Arm'd Men: For tho' the *Pratorian Cohorts* were no less numerous, yet many *Roman Emperors* stood in need to be Guarded from their pretended Guards; notwithstanding of the double Pay they got for that effect: Nay, the common Proverb, *Ovem Lupo commisi*, might pertinently have been apply'd to those insolent *Pretorians*, who took away the Lives of *Caligula*, *Galba* and *Pertinax*; and at last became so Presumptuous,



ous, as to set the whole *Roman* Empire to Sale, to every Ambitious and Avaricious Fool, who wou'd promise most: Neither was there a Merchant wanting; for that Cowardly Sot *Didius Fulianus* barter'd with 'em, and at last lost his insignificant Head; because he had not advanc'd the whole Price. And did not the *Roman* Army in general combine against that Tyrannical Emperor *Maximinus*; so that, when he was lying at the Siege of *Aquileia*, they came boldly into his Tent, and cut off the Heads both of Father and Son, and made common Foot-balls of 'em: And it were easy to shew, that many other, more worthy than that *Thracian* Giant, have undergone the same Fate, by their own Mercenaries. It was the strange Testament of that Cruel and Subtil *African*, *Septimius Severus*, who dy'd at *York*, when he call'd his two Sons before him, these were his last Words, *Concordiam inter vos colite, milites Locupletate, omnes alios contemnite*. 'Tis certain, *Caracalla* obey'd not the first Article; for with his own Hand, he slaughter'd his Brother *Geta* in his Mother's Arms; and tho' he was not wanting to the other two; yet his hateful Life, was by a Posterior Thrust, evacuated out of this World; and that by the Contrivance of *Macrinus*, the Captain of his Guard.

But 'tis no great wonder, to find such Hirelings, Conspire against their Lords and Masters; when some Tyrannical Princes have become so odious, that their nearest and dearest Relations, could not but abhor, them instead of affording them that Conjugal Love, and Filial Affection, which by the Law of Nature, was



due unto them: *Dionysius* the Elder, Tyrant of *Sicily*, had such a bad Conscience, that he distrusted all his Relatives, so that his only Brother *Leptines*, was still search'd for Offensive Arms about him, before he was admitted to his Presence; and when he took an Halbard out of the Hand of one of his Guard, to Delineate on the Sand, the Situation of a City he design'd to besiege, the Tyrant was so frightened, that he put the Soldier to Death for parting with his Halbard; and lest his Wife and Daughter should make him part with his Impious Life, he wou'd suffer none of 'em to shave him. But *Alexander*, that Cruel Tyrant of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, was not so cautious; for his Wife cut his Throat, when he was asleep: Whose Unnatural Example, was follow'd by two Female *French Furies*, and by two Queens of *Scotland*: yea; the Wife of *Edward* the II<sup>d</sup>. of *England*, to make her Unnatural Crime the more extensive, engag'd the Young Prince, *Edward* the III<sup>d</sup>. in that Inhuman Conspiracy: as did the *Scots* Nobility, in their Insurrection against King *James* the III<sup>d</sup>. by which respective Combinations, the two silly Tyrants were posted out of the World, by Ignominious Deaths: Tho' 'tis possible, that the Iron-belt of King *James* the IV<sup>th</sup>. worn by him, when he was Old, made some atonement for his Accession to that Parricide when he was very Young.

But whoever desires more Instances of such Unnatural Tragedies in Royal Families, let 'em peruse the *Persian* and *Turkish* Histories, where they will find too many, *usque ad nauseam*.

But



But when a Prince is so Happy, that he is generally belov'd, he needs no other Guard, within, nor without Doors; for a good Conscience within, with the Divine Protection, and the entire Affections of his Subjects without, make him confidently rest in a more Impregnable Fortrefs, than was the Brazen Tower of *Danae*: So that 'tis not to be fear'd that a Shower of Gold will influence his Keepers: Thus the *Lyrick* Poet, *Integer vitæ Scelerisque purus, non eget Mauri Faculis.* &c. Such Darlings of the People, will find no occasion to say, as did *Antigonus*, to those, who were speaking ill of him, *If ye be resolv'd to revile your Prince, remove far from his Tent.* Nor will any Subject have occasion to frame the Politick Apology of one of the Captains of King *Pyrrhus*, who being Challeng'd by that Prince, for speaking of him so Disrespectfully and Contumeliously with his Associate in a Tavern, the foregoing Night: he immediately Answer'd in his own Name, and of his Drunken Companions, *That if the Wine had lasted longer, they had spoke more than they did.*

*Titus Uespasian*, was deservedly term'd, *Deliciæ humani generis*; for such was the Innocency of his Life, after he became Emperor, his great Care to do Justice to all, and so great was his Liberality, that 'tis no wonder he became the *Darling of Mankind*; especially, of all who were Subjected to the vast *Roman* Empire: For to be Good, and to do Good, are the great recommendations of Love; Justice, Mercy and Liberality, being the three great Instances of this Commutative Goodness: In all which, this most Excellent



Prince excell'd; and being still mindful of that Old Maxim, *Si vis redamari ama*, he may be truly said, to have lov'd all his Subjects with a true Paternal Affection: And when some Courtiers told him, *That by giving away so much, he would at last leave nothing for himself*: He usually reply'd, *That none should go away from his Prince with a griev'd Heart; so that he was bound either to grant his Request, or to convince him in Reason that it could not be granted*. 'Tis therefore no marvel, that this Gracious Prince could not believe, that any cou'd have a Design against his Life, unless it was his Unnatural Brother *Domitian*, whose restless Ambition would not boggle at Fratricide nor Parricide: of which more afterwards. And to let the People of *Rome* see, that he did not believe a Rumor concerning two *Roman* Knights, their having bad Designs against him, he sat down betwixt 'em in the Publick Theatre; and under pretence of trying the Edges of two Daggers, he put them in their Hands; being at that time without any Guards about him, and without Offensive or Defensive Arms upon himself. In this great Confidence, the good Duke of *Wirtemberg* may be term'd his parallel: When other Princes of *Germany* were Vaunting, some of one thing, some of another, one bragg'd of the Antiquity of his Family; another of his rich Silver Mines; a third of the largeness of his Dominions; a fourth of his great skill in Military Affairs; and a fifth of his many Friends and great Allies: The good Duke told 'em, that in one thing he valu'd himself above them all, That he could sleep securely in the Bosom of any of his Subjects,



jects, without the least fear of their doing him harm, or suffering it to be done, if they could possibly hinder it.

Having just now insinuated, That Justice, Mercy and Liberality, are the three great Physical and Moral Instruments of Conciliating to Princes the universal Love of their People: I shall therefore point at some Instances of the first, reserving the Illustration of the other two to their proper places.

The great *Augustus Cesar* was so Assiduous in dispensing Justice to his Subjects, that he gain'd the general wish of 'em all, *That he should never die*; as no doubt, many in the Sanguinary Season of the Bloody Triumvirat, regrated *he had ever been born*: And as he fail'd not to honour the Juridical Bench on all the *profesti dies*, when he was in Health; so he was pleas'd to admit Petitioners to his Bed-side, when he was Sick. There is one *Roman* Historian, who gives Account of a strange Complement pais'd upon him by his great Favorite *Mecenas*: The Emperor had sat so long, one Day, in a Criminal Court, where many High-way Men were Sentenc'd to Die; that this great *Roman* Knight being displeas'd, convey'd to his Hand a Schedule with these two Words, *Surge Carnifex*; yet he had the Discretion so to order the delivery, that none could see it beside the Emperor: But there is not any of the *Roman* Historians, who doth not relate the Adventure of that Old Soldier, who being Pannel'd for his Life before the Senate; came to the Emperor, and desir'd he might speak for him, who had fought so stoutly for his Prince at *Actium*; the Emperor appointed an Advocate to plead his Cause; But



But that bold Son of *Mars* discovering his naked Breast before them all, where appear'd many Cicatrices and honourable Scars, and directing his Discourse to the Emperor, said, *O Augustus, I received these Wounds for thee, without a Substitute; I expected therefore, thou wouldst have Pleaded for me without a Deputy.* Whereupon, the good Prince immediately descended from the Bench to the Bar, and we may easily think the event of the Process was favourable to the Pannal; as it also prov'd to the Emperor; for that condescending Act, being speedily divulg'd through the Empire, did more endear all the *Roman* Legions to that great Prince, than if he had given them a Donative of some Millions of Crowns.

It is observed by some Politicians, That divers Usurpers have made good Laws, and been diligent, for a time, to put them in Execution, that by due Administration of Justice, they might in some measure palliate the iniquity of their Title. This we read of *Macbeth* in *Scotland*, *Richard* the III<sup>d</sup>. of *England*, and *Lodowick Sforza* Duke of *Milan*: this last had Usurp'd that great Dutchy from his Nephew; and to obviate the Resentment of that King of *Naples*, who was Father-in-law to the true Prince, he brought in *Charles* the VIII<sup>th</sup>. to *Italy*; but had good Reason to repent of his Folly in shewing the *French* the way thither: For not long afterwards, *Lewis* the XII<sup>th</sup>. came without Invitation to Claim for himself that greatest Dutchy in *Europe*: Whereupon, *Lodowick* Attested a general Convocation of his People, that he had not fail'd to Sit twice every Week on the Throne of  
Judg.



Judgment, to do Justice to all, according to Law, Reason and Equity ; and therefore hop'd, they would all stand by him, since it was probable, that they, who pretended a better Title, would not so duly perform the proper Office of a Prince. I'm afraid, there are many Princes in *Europe*, who cannot be call'd Usurpers, that do not employ the tenth part of that time in such good Offices.

But if all Princes did improve the precious Talent of Time, to as good purpose, as did that King of the *West-Saxons*, nam'd *Alfred*, I'm confident they would do much to retrieve the *Golden-Age*, to this 4th Part of the known World : For this unparallel'd Prince, who liv'd in the Days of *Charles the Great*, allow'd himself only 8 Hours for Eating, Drinking, Sleeping, and Recreation ; other 8 for Meditation, Devotion and Study ; the other 3d. part, was dedicated entirely to the Administration of Justice ; and thus he employ'd every Natural Day, except the Lord's Day, which he devoted wholly to the publick & private service of the King of Kings. If all Kings did carefully endeavour to trace his Footsteps, they should not find cause to regret, that *they have consum'd many Days in Vanity, and many Years to no purpose.*

Being now in *Great Britain*, let us take a step to the most frozen parts of it, where we will find as great Voluptuous Heats, in diverse *Scottish* Princes, as ever rag'd among the most Sensual of the *Roman* Emperors ; tho' not such abundance of Fuel for their Luxury : But on the other hand, there are several Instances of the bright flaming of that pure *Olybian* Fire of *Themis* ; as in the Days of *Alexander*



*ander the Fierce, and William the Lyon, furnam'd so from their courageous Administration of Justice; but especially, from the constant practice of David the first, deservedly term'd St. David, it being one instance of his admirable Vertues (of which more afterwards) that he was the great Padron of all poor ones, against the Rich, whose Causes he always espous'd as if they had been his own, and more than his own; and if he found any of his Subjects to have been unjustly Sentenc'd by any Judge, he was fute to punish that unjust Judge, both in his Person and Goods, out of which, he always refunded the Dammages to the injur'd Person.*

But above all Princes on the Face of the Earth, never any was found more indefatigable in the Personal pursuit of Thieves and Robbers, Murderers, and all sorts of Oppressors, than was King *James the Vth* among the *Scots*; and 'tis worth the while to shew the occasion of his first becoming so great a Justiciary. As he liv'd not beyond the Days of *Alexander the Great*, so when he was very Young, his Curiosity prompted him to Travel *incognito*, through all his Kingdom, that thus he might have occasion to Discourse with his People of all Ranks and Conditions: Returning from the North, he encounter'd one of the *Highlanders* on the Top of the *Grampian Mountains*; and demanding of him, Where he had been, and what was his Business? The poor Traveller not knowing the King, return'd this plain Answer, which I give in his own Words: *You shall know, Sir, I have been at Edinburgh it self, seeking Justice against one that kill'd my Father, I went to Sir King, and*



to Sir Queen, and to Sir Council, seeking Justice, but got none; yet God hath done me Justice: for that Murderer is drown'd in a Water as he was going home. Which blunt Discourse, made such a sharp Impression on the Spirit of that Young Prince, that he devoted much of his time to the seeking out of Robbers, Murtherers, and all Villainous Persons: The *Highlands* and the *Borders* 'twixt *England* and *Scotland*, being at that time too prolifick of such pernicious Animals: and, as *Drummond* reports in his History, he was so unwearied in this search, that he was often on Horse-back 24 Hours without intermission, even in the Winter season, attending the motions of those Villains, and never gave over the Prosecution, till with his own Hands he deliver'd them into the Claws of the Executioner; for he judg'd it below him, to imitate *Saladine*, that Sultan of *Ægypt*, who pretending zeal to Justice, cut off the Heads of Malefactors with his own Hand: So that this *Scottish* Prince having become a secure Sanctuary to all his oppressed Subjects, he obtain'd the Epithet of *the Poor Man's King*; (as did *Lewis* the XIIth of *France* much about the same time.) In which Title, this great Lover of Justice glory'd no less, than did *Augustus Cæsar*, when by the unanimous Vote of the Senate, he had the glorious Epithet of *Pater Patriæ*, given to him. And to conclude, This King of Scots wou'd have made a most Excellent Prince, if *Mars* and *Venus* had not trysted too oft in his Palace and Travels.

Before I leave *Scotland*, I cannot but take notice of the exact Justice of one, tho' never a Sovereign Prince, yet for *Heroick Fortitude*, deserv'd



deserv'd to be such, in any Part of the World; namely, *Thomas Randolph*, the famous Earl of *Murray*, Appointed Viceroy, by the Renown'd King *Robert Bruce*, during the minority of his Son *David*: This new State Physician, did so universally purge the Country of all Thieves and Robbers, that to make Trial if there were need of a Super-purgation, he caus'd hang on a Pole a Chain of massie Gold, on the High-way in *Murray*, where he resided, which for the space of half a Year, remain'd as secure there both Day and Night, as if it had been lock'd up in his Cabinet. And to render the Criminal Judge the more Vigilant over all secret Pilferers, he publish'd that Notable Law, *That the Sheriff of each County, should be accountable, for what was Stole, or Robb'd in it.* So that the injur'd Person, had no more to do, than to come to that Judge, and recover the full value of his Dammage: Whence a Covetous Wretch took occasion to steal his own Plow-Irons; but his Trepaning the Sheriff, prov'd like *Achan's Golden-wedge*; for his Neighbours informing against him, That he himself was the Thief; he was most justly Hang'd, for designing to ludify so excellent a Law.

But to return towards the Southern Parts, on the Scene of *Italy*: The Reader may find some Recreation to his Spirit by a merry Comical Story of one *Alphonsus*, Prince of *Calabria*, who was so willing to do Justice to his People, that to obviate their long Attendance, (which too often falls out in Princes Courts) and to prevent the necessity or Addressing the Master of Requests with Golden Eloquence;



Eloquence; he order'd a Bell to be hung under his Chamber-window, that whoever demand- ed Justice, might upon tolling it a little, im- mediately be introduc'd; all others being pro- hibited on pain of Death, to Ring that Justice- Bell: Sometime after this method was well known, it happen'd, one Day in Winter, when much Snow was on the Ground, that the Bell being Toll'd in the usual manner, and enquiry being made for the Petitioner, it was found that an old Horse had entangled his Head in the Rope: The Prince concluding there was something more than ordinary in the matter, inform'd himself to whom he be- long'd; and finding he had been the Horse of such a Captain, he call'd for him, and de- manded, *Why he had turn'd out his Horse in so bad Weather?* The Captain ingenuously answer'd, *That he was now old and useless; and therefore he had turn'd him off to shift for himself.* To which, the Prince reply'd, with a severe Reprimand, *I perceive, said he, you are none of those good Men, who shew mercy upon their Beasts; if this dumb Brute had Un- derstanding, and could speak but once, as did Balaam's Ass, he might justly upbraid you with Ungratitude: for, under God, he preserv'd your Life, at least your Liberty, by swimming over a deep River, with you on his Back, and so carry'd you off, when you was hotly pur- su'd by the Enemy; to which, I my self was an Eye-witness: Wherefore, I order you to take him home, and cause feed him as former- ly, so long as he lives, under the pain of my Displeasure.*

On this Italian Theatre, there was also a Tragedy acted, under the notion of Justice, by



by the German Emperor Frederick the Ist. furnam'd *Barbarossa*; as he March'd with his Army through Lombardy, being well known to be a great *Justiciary*; he was Address'd by a Lady, complaining of one of his Captains for committing a most Inhumane Rape upon her. He told her, *He was in great haste; going to Rome, to receive the Golden Crown at the Pope's Hands: But would not fail to do her Justice upon his return.* Great Sir, said she, *you will perhaps forget before you return.* I take that Church to witness, said he, pointing to a Church on the Road which he then pass'd by, *that I shall not forget it.* The Captain hearing of this Promise, and knowing his Prince would be punctual in the performance, made up his peace so effectually with the Lady, that he became her Husband; and before the Emperor's return, she had brought forth a Son to him. But how soon that Great Prince saw that Church again, he remember'd his Promise, and call'd for the Injur'd Lady: She humbly thank'd his Majesty; but added. *That the Captain had given her Satisfaction, by becoming her Loving Husband; and that she had born a Son, which she hop'd, would one Day become a faithful Servant to his Prince.* Nay, said the Emperor, *but your new Husband hath not yet satisfy'd Justice for his old Crime:* and order'd him to be put to Death, as the Law appoints Ravishers of Women; an Act, which some reckon'd too severe, tho' according to Law. But many more Exclaim'd, upon his Demolishing that most Ancient City of *Milan*, his Plowing up the very Foundation of it, and Sowing it with Salt: Yet when his great Provocations are consider'd



der'd, it will not be found so Rigorous an Act, as it appears to those, who know nothing of 'em. Both these Severities were acted, before this great Emperor was made a Footstool to that proud Prelate, Pope *Alexander* the III<sup>d</sup>. which insolent Act the great Annalist *Baronius* is so asham'd of, that he hath the Impudence to deny the truth of the Story; tho' acted publickly at *Venice* in the Face of the Sun; and some Historians, who report it, being Eye-witnesses of that strange piece of Pageantry.

They who are acquainted with the Imperial History, may perhaps wonder I have not made some Panegyrick on the Justice of *Frederick* the II<sup>d</sup>. another *German* Emperor, & may be presum'd to have been a great Votary of Justice; some excellent Laws, usually annex'd to the end of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, being of his making: But I have forborn to instance him, not for any respect to the Testimony of those Popish Historians, who frequently exclaim against him, as a great Tyrant (not in regard of Usurpation, but Domination) because he carry'd a high Hand, for a long time over some Popes and Cardinals, and hinder'd for many Months, the Election of a new Pope, (by making most of the Cardinals Prisoners) having been so much troubled with the old one. Neither is it for his deficiency of Justice in his younger Years, that I have balk'd the honourable mention of him; but for his turning Cruel in his Old-age. The Popes having so insulted him, by getting both Sun and Wind against him, that he became almost frantick with Rage: So that the best Apology can be made for him, is that of *Solomon*,



*lomon*, already apply'd to others, *Oppression makes a Wise Man mad.*

There were two Notable Acts of Justice perform'd by that great Duke of *Burgundy*, *Charles the Warlike*, which were celebrated through all *Europe*, as convincing Evidences of Justice and Wisdom. It is indeed, somewhat strange, that I should find him at Home doing Justice, being so much Abroad, ranging like a *Knight Errant*, at the Head of a great Army, and Fighting sometimes for matters of Moon-shine; in which respect, he might have been term'd, rather the Genuine Issue of *Pyrrhus the Epirot*, than the true Son of *Philip the Good*: And as he resembl'd the *Epirot* in his Incroachments on all his Neighbours, where he was not bounded by Sea; so he was like to him in his fatal End: for foolish Ambition brought them both to Violent Deaths. But that this *Hardy Duke*, when at Home, was ready to do Justice to the Oppressed, appears from these two Instances.

The first concerns one of his Governours of *Brussels*, with whom he left the full Command there in his Absence; a Person, tho' of great Quality and Wealth, yet of small Virtue: This Young *Commandant*, caus'd Seize, and closely Imprison a Gentleman of the Country, upon Information, that he had committed some capital Crime: His Lady Address'd the Governour in behalf of her Husband, who being Young, and very Beautiful, that Son of *Venus*, was so inflam'd with the sight of her, that at last he promis'd, on condition she wou'd become his Bed-fellow that Night, he should Liberate her Husband next Morning: The Lady being very much streight-  
ned



ned betwixt the due regard to her Honour, and the great Kindness she had to her Husband; at last acquainted him with the Struggle she felt 'twixt Love and Honour, abstracting from her Religion: But the Husband fearing the cruel Disposition of the Governour, and concluding he would be greatly irritated by his Wife's Refusal, preferr'd his Life both to her Honour and his own. But such was the Prefidious and Treacherous Nature of that Cruel and Lascivious Governour, that tho' the poor Lady did prostitute herself to him against Honour and Conscience, to procure her Husband's Liberty; yet he had given private Orders to Strangle him that same Night; (so that next Morning, instead of a living Consort, she receiv'd only the Carcass of her dead Husband) and then had the Impudence to tell her, *He promis'd only to Liberate him, but not to preserve him alive.* Upon the Duke's return, he receiv'd this grievous Complaint from the injur'd Lady; Which that Wicked Governour could not deny. But the Duke having engag'd her seemingly to yield a Consent to what he was to Command; assuring her, she would find both sufficient Revenge, and much Advantage by it; and the Governour being a Bachelor, for fear of Death, was well content to comply with the Duke's Commands, namely, to Marry her, and dispoise his great Estate to her, in Case there were no Children of the Marriage: And as soon as the Legal Ceremonies were perform'd, the Duke most justly order'd his Criminal Head to be cut off, before he had occasion to Bed her once Lawfully.



The other Instance, is Reported at length by that much celebrated Historian, *Philip de Comines*, Lord of *Argenton*, who was an Eye-witness to it. He tells, that the Young Duke of *Guelderland* was such an Inhumane, Unnatural Wretch, as to fetch his aged Father, with strong Hand, out of one of his own Castles, and constrain him to Travel a-Foot, in a cold Winter's Night, bare-foot, and bare-legg'd, through Frost and Snow, the space of 20 Miles, to another Castle which was in his possession; and there made him close Prisoner. The Pope, and Emperor, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, being inform'd of this unaccountable Barbarity, intreated this Duke of *Burgundy* to release the Imprison'd Father, and to hear what the Son had to say for himself: Which was indeed, just nothing, only, *That the Father had liv'd too long.* And when the Duke propos'd, that the Dutchy should be divided betwixt 'em; that Vile Wretch answered, *He would choose rather to throw his Father into a deep Well, and himself above him, than suffer his Father to enjoy one Foot of that Dutchy, which he had already detain'd from him these 40 Years.* *De Comines* declares, he never saw a more rueful Spectacle, than when the Old Father threw down the Gauntlet, and offer'd, as old as he was, to fight his Unnatural Son, who had spoke so Ridiculously. But the Duke took a juster Course: For by meer Force he compell'd the young Fool to restore the entire Possession of the Dutchy to the Father (all which he had seiz'd on during his Father's Imprisonment) and put it in the Father's Power to Disinherit so unworthy a Son: All which, the Duke could easily do, being next Neighbour  
to



to that Dutchy. But not long afterwards, that prodigious Dishonourer of his Parent, came to a violent End in the War; too honourable a Death for such a Miscreant, who should have been thrust into a Sack with a Viper and an Ape, a Cat and a Dog, and then thrown into the Sea.

I shall shut up these Examples with a Poetical Story, very pat to this purpose. The Poets feign that the rest of the Gods wou'd have bound *Jupiter*, but he hearing of it, by the Counsel of his Daughter *Pallas*, the Goddess of Wisdom, sent for *Briarins* with his hundred Hands to come in to his Aid. A notable Emblem, to shew how safe it is for Monarchs to make sure of the Good-will of the Common People; which they cannot do more effectually, than by due Administration of Justice to their Subjects of what Rank soever: For if the discontented Mob lie by, as Neutral, when a Prince is sore put to it, or hath conceived such Displeasure against him for his manifold Oppressions in lieu of Justice, that there is nothing wanting but a Head to set that turbulent Body a going; such an Unhappy Prince must needs be in a very dangerous Condition, there being always some of the greater sort ready enough to declare themselves, when the Waters are so troubled: For which, I shall only give the followiug Instance, instead of many which might be taken notice of.

It concerns King *Demetrius*, Son to the Great *Antigonis*, a Prince of such a medly and contrariety of Passions, that I cannot find in History, a parallel to him, except *Mecenas*, the great Favourite of *Augustus*: In time of War, he was so Vigilant and Diligent, that



he was usually term'd *Poliorcetes*, or *Fort-gainer*, having a Dexterity beyond any Mechanick, of devising admirable Engines for battering the Walls of Cities : But in time of Peace, no Prince could be more Luxurious, and negligent of his Duty, giving no Audience to his People, when they demanded Justice ; or if he did, they receiv'd a very unfavourable Answer, in rough and severe Terms. This his Misbehaviour, was sadly Experimented by the *Macedonians*, for at least six Years ; he having seiz'd upon that Kingdom, after he had put to Death *Alexander* the Son of *Cassander*, (who had invited him to his Assistance) under pretence that the said *Alexander* had been Plotting to take away his Life : Yet coming Abroad one Day in better Humour, as his People suppos'd, than was usual, many Supplicants Address'd him, while he seem'd to be in a Popular Fit ; and he receiving their Petitions in the Lap of his Gown, they begun to hope for speedy Justice : but as soon as he came to a Bridge over one of their Rivers, he threw all their Petitions in one Bundle into the Water : With which most foolish and provoking Act, he lost the Hearts of his Subjects, and very shortly his Kingdom. For tho' he assembled above 100000 Men, Horse and Foot, to recover, forsooth, all his Father's Dominions in *Asia*, yet as soon as *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* advanc'd against him, with a far less Army, his Forces abandon'd him, and went over to *Pyrrhus* : So that he was fain to steal out of his Tent, and fly for his Life, with a Black Cloak wrap'd about his Face, instead of that rich and gorgeous one he was wont to wear ; fitly resembling a Stage-player, who personates a King ; but as soon as the Comedy or Tragedy is



is at an end, he lays aside his Royal Apparel, and resumes his own homely Garb.

It is not amiss to subjoyn here, the Verdict of that Wise and Vertuous Philosopher *Plutarch*, upon this Fatality of *Demetrius*, and the merit of the Cause; *Nothing*, says he, *becometh a Prince better, than to minister Justice; for Mars, as saith Timotheus, signifies Force, and is a Tyrant; but Justice and Law, according to Pindarus, is Queen of all the World.* Moreover, the wise Poet *Homer*, saith not, that Kings and Princes have receiv'd of *Jupiter*, the Custody of Engines and Munition; neither also strong and mighty Ships, to destroy Towns wirhal; but therewith to maintain Law & Justice: and therefore he calleth not the Cruel and Bloody King, but the Just and Merciful Prince, *Jupiter's* Friend, Son, and Schollar. And 'tis also well observ'd by the same Philosopher, from the Deportment of the People of *Rome*, after the Death of *Galba* and *Otho*, *That Justice is the great popular Vertue, which, above all, gains the Love of the Populace to the Prince:* For he tell us,, *That tho' it was generally known at Rome, that Otho had been the intimate Associate of Nero in his most Voluptuous Riots; having parted with his Wife Poppæa Sabina, to pleasure Nero, whom, for his own Pleasure, he had taken not long before, from her first Husband; and that he had a principal hand in the Death of his Predecessor; yet since he Sentenc'd Tigillinus to Death, who was the chief Instrument of Nero's Cruelty, and had been protected by Galba, notwithstanding of all the Clamours of the Romans against him, as a Blood-thirsty Glutton: The whole Body of the Peo-*



ple regretted more the Death of Otho, than that of Galba.

Supposing then, our Prince is fully convinc'd, That nothing can more endear him to his Subjects, than the due Administration of Justice: There are two Qualifications of it, necessary to be recommended. The first is Impartiality: For all Lawful Princes and Judges, being God's Vicegerents, are bound to imitate the Great King of Heaven and Earth, who is no *Respecter of Persons*, for any accidental worldly Advantages, *but in every Nation, he that feareth him and works Righteousness, is accepted with him.* The Ancients painted Justice Blind, as an Emblem that a Judge should be *Lex Loquens*, and not byas'd from the streight Path of the Law, upon any *by Respect* whatsoever. Partiality may perhaps procure the carnal Love of some, who are favour'd with such a Sentence; but the injur'd Person will not fail to reckon him, his declar'd Enemy, who pronounceth such an unequal Sentence; Suppose it was the Sovereign Prince himself: nay, all unbyas'd Spectators are tempted to think him a very Unjust Judge. But it was Impartiality in Justice, which render'd *Augustus Caesar* most acceptable to the People of *Rome*: for tho' he entirely lov'd *Proculus*, his Freedman, as being of good Natural Parts, and faithful and useful to his Master; yet loving Justice better, he gave him over to the Criminal Judge, to be Punish'd according to Law, for the many Adulteries he was found guilty of; and was well satisfy'd that deep Incision was made into his Jugulars, whereby the excessive Heat of his Liver was abated. And *Constantine the Great,*



Great, was highly magnify'd for appointing (by a Law) a Reward to those, who should Accuse his Ministers or Domesticks of any Crime, provided they could prove it. *Vid. lib. 4. Cod. de Accus.*

*Agésilas*, King of *Sparta*, is usually given as an Instance of this detestable Partiality. I know, some deride *Plutarch* for paralleling him with *Pompey the Great*; Since, say they, he might as properly have compared a Mouse to an Elephant: Yet he was certainly a great Man; tho' as to the Wings of worldly Greatness, far inferiour to *Pompey*. Nor do I judge him Arrogant, for carping at that Epithet of the *Persian* Monarchs, the Great King, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, I acknowledge, said he, no King greater than my self, unless he excel me in Justice: But herein he came very far short, in being too Partial to his Friends, and the more Scandalously, in that he own'd the thing as well done: For he us'd to say, That to be streight lac'd in Matters of Justice in a Friend's Cause, was but an Excuse for them that would do nothing for their Friends, To this effect, a Letter of his was found writ to *Idrian*, Prince of *Caria*, for the delivery of his Friend, If *Nicias* have not offended, let him go; if he have offended, then pardon him for my sake; but howsoever, let him go. So that from the History of his Life, it may be inferr'd, That his Enmity was less faulty than his Friendship: for he did never hurt his Enemies without just Cause; but he aided his Friends, even in unjust Matters: And whereas he thought it a shame, not to honour his Enemies when they had done well; he could not find in his Heart to rebuke



rebuke his Friends when they had done amiss; but rather glory'd in succouring and helping them in their Evil doings : For he thought it no shame to serve his Friend's turn, howsoever it were : But all such do an ill turn, who make Sacred Justice to halt any manner of way : For as *Plutarch* well observes in his *Morals*, *As People were ordered to put off their Shoes before they enter'd into some Temples ; so an uncorrupt Judge, leaves all his carnal Affections at the Door of the Court, that he may ascend the Bench, as to a Serene and Sacred Place, void of all Passions whatsoever.*

Thus *Themistocles*, when Governour of the City, gave a noble Answer to the Poet *Simonides*, who requested an unreasonable Matter at his Hands: *Thou couldst not*, said he, *be a good Poet, if thou didst Sing against the Rules of Musick ; nor I a good Governour, if I should do any thing contrary to Law.* The Impartial Justice of the Consul *Marius*, was highly commended, in rewarding that Young Man, who kill'd his Nephew, when he made appear, what Unnatural Designs he had upon the said Young Man. The Sentence pass'd by *Junius Brutus* against his two Sons, was such a strange Act, that in the Opinion of *Plutarch*, Men cannot sufficiently praise or reprove it : But when it is consider'd, that their Treason was against their Natural and Civil Parents, and their Native Country ; I am prone to judge it an eminent Act of Heroick Vertue. The fittest parallel to it, I can remember, was that which *Garcias*, the Youngest Son to the famous *Cosmo*, the great Duke of *Tuscany*, justly met with, for Murdering the



the Cardinal, his Elder Brother; the Father being not only a Judge and Spectator, but also an Executioner of the Sentence. Which Tragical Story, is Narrated at length by the great *Thuan*. I shall end this Point with the Observation of divers *Pagan* Historians, That the *Lacedemonians* receiv'd such a dead stroke at *Leuctra*, that *Sparta* never recover'd its former Lustre; because they gave no Justice to *Scedassus* the Father of the *Leuctrides*, when he complain'd that some Young Men of *Sparta*, had first Ravish'd his Daughters, and then Drown'd them in a deep Well.

The other Qualification of Justice, is Constancy: For they, who fall back from the true Path of it, into the crooked ways of Iniquity, as too many Princes have done, give just occasion to their Subjects to conclude, That from being good Kings, they degenerate into Tyrants, in whom Luxury, Avarice, Infidelity and Cruelty, become usually their four Elements, after *Astrea* is fled to Heaven: So that, what the Apostle said in another Case, may be fitly apply'd to them, That *they begun in the Spirit, and end in the Flesh*. I suppose, there is not any History can afford more Examples, of such good Beginners and bad Enders, than the Chronicles of *Scotland*: But I shall rather instance some *Roman* Emperors, because they made a greater Figure in the World; I mean, as to greatness of Empire, tho' as to the Point of Justice, there could be no greater Cyphers, than were many of 'em, The worst of all the Pack, were these Eight, *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Commodus*, *Caracalla*, *Heliogabalus* and *Maximinus*: The four last in order, were still like them-



themselves, or rather, like him, *who was a Murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the Truth*: But the four first Hypocris'd for a time; yet soon pull'd off the Mask; for their extremely corrupted Natures could not endure a long habit of dissembled Vertue; tho' some of 'em wrestled it out for some Years.

In his Books  
de Clementia

For who hath not heard of *Nero's Quinquennium*, for which he is much magnify'd by his Tutor *Seneca*; which cannot be reckon'd a Flattering Panegyrick, since *Trajan*, a Good and Wise Prince, and who could not be a Parasite to *Nero*, usually said, *The best of 'em came short of the first five Years of Nero*: Perhaps he was restrain'd, in his younger Years, from his Extravagancies, by the Influence of *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, like another *Jehojada* to King *Joash*, or a *Samuel* to King *Saul*: but afterwards, he became one of the greatest Monsters of Nature, for Unnatural Vices: Nay, the best of these palliated *Virtuosi*, had only *species Virtutibus similes*: For only they who endure to the End, shall be Saved; and are to be praised. I joyn Issue with those, who apply to this Constancy in the Administration of Justice, the Saying of *Vespasian*, *Oportet Imperatorem stantem mori*: But am not so clear in fixing that Sence upon those Words of Dispatch, which were the last that was utter'd by *Septimius Severus*, *Adeste siquid adhuc mihi restat agendum*: For that Subtil and Active African, was frequently too Severe in his Justice, and too often more Cruel than Just; but a great stranger to the Vertue of Clemency: That Infidel being ignorant, that 'tis a Heaven upon Earth, to have a Mind constantly moving in Justice and Charity, resting in Providence,



dence, and turning upon the Poles of Truth.

That *Philip* of *Macedon* was Inconstant in the Exercise of Justice, appears from the following Instance: In his Old-age, to the great disgust of his Son *Alexander*, and his Mother *Olympias*, he Marry'd *Cleopatra*, Neece to *Attalus*, one of his Minions; who, upon this honourable Alliance, became so Insolent, that most Inhumanely and Unnaturally, like an Inhabitant of *Sodom*, he abus'd the Body of *Pausanias*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, after he had made him beastly Drunk; and not satisfy'd with his own Wickedness, he then expos'd him to be abus'd by his Grooms and basest Slaves: which Execrable Conduct of *Attalus*, proceeded as much from Malice as Lust, because *Pausanias* had complain'd on *Attalus* for abusing his Cousin and Namesake at the same Vile rate: But *Pausanias* having slept out his Surfeit, and being inform'd of the Indignities put upon him, went to the King, and demanded Justice; which he, out of a fond Kindness to *Attalus*, too frequently shifted, and thereby so incensed the Complainer, that he conceived a greater Resentment against his Prince, than he had against his Favourite: At last, King *Philip* thinking to stop his Mouth from further Solliciting, made him the principal Gentleman of his Guard; which Post he cordially accepted, as affording the fairer Opportunity for Revenge; which he fail'd not to execute on a very Solemn Day, the Day of his Daughter's Marriage with the King of *Epirus*, a Solemnity which was Countenanc'd by Deputies from the most of the States of *Greece*: But as the King walk'd before his Guards,



Guards, *Pausanias* boldly step'd up to him, and by one fatal Thrust, drove his restless Soul out of his Body, being then upon his Expedition as Captain General of the *Greeks* against the *Persians*. As this should be a Document to all Princes to Administer Justice Impartially and Constantly; so it is a notable Embleme of the uncertainty of Earthly Glory: For tho' King *Philip* had never appear'd with greater Luster, than at this time; yet a sudden Stroak, in a Moment, levell'd his plodding Head with the Dust of the Earth.

Altho' 'tis, I hope, sufficiently evinc'd, That a Prince appears with most of real Glory, when he is set on the Throne of Judgment; nor do I know a Parallel to it, unless it be his Appearance in a Martial Posture at the Head of his Army, like another *Codrus*, ready to die for his Native Country: Yet since there are other *Modes of Appearance*, whereby a Prince may be found very Inglorious, and render Majesty too cheap; I shall by some Instances make appear, that as to such Princes, who stoop so far below themselves, it had been better for them to have been immur'd within their own Palaces, the most part of their time.

No doubt, every sober Subject would chuse rather, never to see his Sovereign, than to behold him frequently in the abominable Company of vile Drunkards, base Scoundrels, and such unworthy Persons, notorious for all sorts of Vice: This was the wretched Deportment of one of the *Seleucidae*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who, if we believe some Historians, mispent much of his precious Time with the Votaries of *Bachus* and *Venus*, and in his



his Drunken Fits Tumbled with them; and therefore the *Greeks*, instead of *Epiphanes*, or *Illustrious*, usually term'd him *Epimanes*, or *Mad*. And since Gluttony is justly reckon'd as base a Vice as Drunkenness, and by some much worse; we may fitly reduce to the same Category, these two Gormandizing Emperors, *Claudius* and *Vitellius*, whose *Belly was their only God*. For many times they so oppress'd Nature, in the sight of many People, that they were constrain'd to give account of it again; which Evacuation of their superfluous Load, like the Dog's returning to his Vomit, serv'd only as an Introduction to a renew'd excessive Repletion from a too plentiful Table. Neither ought *Heliogabalus* here to be forgot, who by his Incredible Voluptuousness, render'd himself so despicable in the Eyes of his own *Pretorians*, that they bury'd in a Privy, the most Beautiful Body in his Age, with the most Deform'd Mind. But if any desire a particular account of his unaccountable Extravagancies, they may find them, *usque ad nauseam*, in *Lampridius*; for I intend not to offend the Eyes or Ears of any sober Person with such Vile Narratives.

It is not only the baseness of the Employment; but also the Contagion of such Vicious Associates, that renders the Prince despicable in the Eyes of all Intelligent Subjects, who are ready to apply the old Observation, *If you would know the Disposition of the Man, remarke the Company he takes the greatest Pleasure in*; which is grounded on the Proverb, *Birds of a Feather, flock together*. Nay, there are some Exercises, tho' not properly Vicious; yet being frequently practis'd in Publick,



Publick, depreciate Princes very much in the Eyes of all Generous Souls, suppose they had Kings Sons to Associate with them. Which I shall give in the Words of a Roman Conspirator against that Monster of Nature, *Nero*: for the Plot being discover'd before it was executed; *Nero* demanded, *What Inducement had mov'd him and others, to Combine to Assassinate their Lord and Master?* The bold Conspirator answer'd, *That so long as Nero appear'd a Just and Clement Prince, he would have been ready to have sacrific'd his own Life for his Preservation: But having disgrac'd that Eminent Station by becoming a Fidler and Stage-player, he judg'd him unworthy to live any longer.* Whence, we may perceive, that tho' *Nero's* Parasites flatter'd him for his Divine Voice, and which he himself valu'd so highly, that when he was a Dying he cry'd out, *Quantus Artifex pereo*; yet he was despised by Judicious Romans upon that same account: To which *Apollonius* alluded, when he answer'd *Vespasian's* Question, *What was Nero's Overthrow?* *Nero*, said he, *could touch and Tune the Harp well; but in Government, he us'd sometimes to wind the Pins too high, and sometimes to let them down too low.*

As *Nero* was Ridicul'd and Condemn'd by the most part of the Romans for his *Harping Trade*; so was *Caracalla* for his driving of Chariots; and *Commodus* for Fencing; at which he was so constant, that he gain'd a Thousand Gladiators Prizes: whereby the Romans were the more confirm'd in the belief of what was commonly talk'd, *That a Gladiator was his Father*; his Mother being Infamous for Whoring, tho' Consort to the most







slavish Senate, to prepare a great Triumph for him and his Army, upon the account of that great Atchievement. 'Tis very probable, that his Paramour *Cesonia*, having given him a Philter to inhance his Love to her, it had made him perfectly Mad. But be it as it will, it was a most ridiculous Imployment for him and his Army: and it may be controverted, Whether this, or *Domitian's* Trade of Fly-catching and Fly-killing, was the most unworthy of a Prince? to which that degenerate Son of *Vespasian*, was prompted by an innate Distemper of his Brains; and so early too, that the very first Year of his Reign, he destin'd at least an Hour every Day for that Childish pursuit; not remembering, that he was destroying the Emblem of his own Impudence: which was not forgot by one *Fabius Crispus*, who being demanded, *If any was with the Emperor?* answer'd merrily, as *Suetonius* tells us, *That there was not so much as a Fly with him.*

I had almost forgot to add something which is of great concern for all Judges, especially Sovereign Princes, That they disgrace not the Bench whereon they should appear with so much Glory; it being an Old Maxim, *Draw not too nigh to Majesty, lest thou be oppressed with its Glory*: But 'tis an unhappy Inversion thereof, when the Prince himself by his Folly and Indiscretion, gives occasion to the Approachers, in lieu of Revering, to Despise and Deride Majesty. Such was the Case of the Emperor *Claudius*: he appear'd often on the Tribunal of Judgment, as Consul and Prince; but by his Deportment there, both in Words and Actions, he became a Laughing-stock to the whole Court: For when he

chanc'd



chanc'd to fall asleep, as he did frequently, the Orator, who had the most stentorian Voice, made use of it to awake him: and sometimes either the Actor or *Reus*, when they perceiv'd the Emperor descending from the Bench, before their Matters were Determin'd, would make bold to pull him by the Gown, or take hold of one of his Feet, and cause him sit down again: Nay, a petulant Advocate, once call'd him, an old doting Fool, in *Greek*, which he understood as well as the *Latin*: But the greatest Indignity of all, flow'd from a *Roman Knight*, who was Innocent of the Crime laid to his Charge, if *Suetonius* reports truly; yet the foolish Emperor permitted Infamous Whores to be Adduc'd as Witnesses against him; and on their Testimony pronounc'd a very severe Sentence: Which so enrag'd the Pannal, that he not only upbraided the Emperor with Foolishness and Cruelty; but also presum'd to throw a Box of Ink in his Face. To conclude, they who understand not the Dignity of their Office; are apt to render the highest Station despicable in the Eyes of the lowest of the People; whereas on the contrary, the great Personal Worth of *Epaminondas*, transform'd the basest Imployment in *Thebes*, into the most honourable, and that was to be the City Scavenger.

It is now high time to pass from Distributive Justice, which a Prince should dispense to his People in the Days of Peace, to that Commutative Justice he owes to all the World in time of War.

It were a mispending of Time, to offer to Prove, against the Confus'd *Anabaptists*, and  
G 2 their



their spurious Issue, the Brain-sick *Quakers*, that there may be a Just War : it being a most certain Truth, That there ought not to be any War in the World, unless it be Just : otherways the greatest Purchases of the most Prosperous Army, are but *magna Latrocinia*, as St. *Augustine* fitly terms them : And it seems, that Pyrate had the true Notion of all unjust Invasions, who told *Alexander the Great*, That *he was the greatest Robber of the two* : Yea, suppose there is just Cause for a War, yet *Omnia prius tentanda quam bello Experiundum*, all Rational Overtures for a peaceable Accommodation should be made before any engage in War ; but when Reason is obstinately refus'd, and finally rejected ; then, and not till then, Independent Kingdoms, or States may Lawfully Appeal to the Lord of Hosts, the Supream Governour of the World.

Judges 2.

And tho' this great King of Kings, does not always seem to favour a Righteous Cause, if we judge by the Event ; for sometimes in his Infinite Wisdom and Justice, for Ends best known to himself, he is pleas'd to permit Villany to prosper for a while ; as is evident in the Case of the *Benjamites* ; yet whoever hath Right on his side, is sure of an Antidote within, against the worst of Success ; namely, the Testimony of a good Conscience, which will not fail to suggest, that the Means are ours, but the Event is God's, who in his Infinite Goodness will undoubtedly, *do good to those who are good and upright in their Hearts ; as for those who turn aside after their crooked ways, he will assuredly, sooner or later, lead them forth with the workers of Iniquity,*



*Iniquity, that Peace may be upon Israel.* That a Conscientious Prince; yea, a good Moral Pagan, will be very shy to engage in War, which is usually attended with such a *Cumulus Malorum*; may be inferr'd from that old Sarcasm, *Homo homini Lupus*, which is more Emphatick than many imagin: it says not, that a Man is a Leopard, a Lyon, or a Tyger to another, which are certainly fiercer than Wolves; but herein is the Emphasis, That there is scarce any other Ravenous Beast, besides the Wolf, that Eats its own Kind: But to a Christian, the serious Consideration That *Man*, how mean soever in the World, *was made after the Image of God*, should be an Adamantine Restraint from shedding Innocent Blood, lest it cry for Vengeance, as *Abel's* did against *Cain*: For God having made all Men of one Blood, there is thereby a kind of Fraternity among 'em, and therefore Commands us to *Love our Neighbour as our selves*.

But as to the true Conscionable Ends, or Causes of a Just and Lawful War, among Christians, or others; in my Opinion, they are only these two, *The Repulsing of Injuries, and the Repetition of Right*: The former is Apparently most Just, because a Defensive War; Self-preservation being a prime Dictate of Nature: And if abstracted Right is a Matter of Importance, the other may be judged of great Weight by all, who are fully Convinced, that it is Lawful for any Injur'd Person to recover his stolen Goods, even by strong Hand, from a Thief or Robber.

There are other two Pretences to a Lawful War, which in my Judgment will not bear weight,



weight, in the Ballance of the Sanctuary; tho' the first of 'em hath the fairest Varnish in the World upon it, namely, the Propagation of our Holy Religion by Arms; which, by too many Christians, is deem'd a laudable Ground of War: not considering that of the Apostle, *The Weapons of our Warfare are not Carnal, but Spiritual*; and that to Propagate Religion by Arms, is rather a *Mahometan* Doctrine and Practice, than the Dictate of the Catholick Church: That Acute *African* Father *Tertullian*, having told us long ago; *Religionis est non cogere Religionem*. So that *Charles the Great* err'd greatly, in entertaining a Bloody War with the *Saxons*, for the space of Thirty Years, in order to their Conversion to the Christian Faith: no doubt, it flow'd from a Principle of *Zeal*, in that *Great Soul*; yet it was not according to Knowledge: And 'tis no wonder that this Military Prince misunderstood our Saviour's Expression, *Compel them to come in, that my House may be filled*; since that great Luminary of the *Latin* Church, *St. Austin*, imagin'd, it was to be Expounded of Bodily Compulsion; whereas the generality of the best Interpreters, understand it, only of a serious rational Compulsion.

Reason and Experience may Teach us, That such severe Methods, as *Fire and Sword*, may make many Hypocrites, but few sincere Converts: For as neither the Will, nor Understanding can be forc'd; so what Violence is done to the Outward Man, is more apt to alienate the Heart, than to influence the Judgment or Will to a Compliance: For which, we need no other Evidence, than the  
 Deport-



Deportment of the *Moors* in *Spain*, after the Subduing of *Granada* by *Ferdinand the Catholick*, whose Cruel Invention of the *Spanish Inquisition* set over them, made indeed many *Nominal Christians*; but they gave an apparent Demonstration of the paucity of *real ones*, in the Days of *Philip the IId.* for when they took occasion to Rebel, the most part of 'em, return'd to their old belov'd *Mahometanism*. Neither must I forget to add, that tho' the Posterity of *Charlemain*, was little oblig'd to the Ancestors of *Lewis le Grand*; Yet 'tis not improbable, that the present *French Monarch* hath borrow'd his Tyrannical Copy of *Apostolick Dragoons*, from that Pattern of *Charles the Great*: There being many Wasps ready to sit down upon the Sore, even when there is but one, without regard to the sound and commendable Parts.

I suppose, this Doctrine will be the more acceptable to the Judicious Reader, if confirm'd by the Sentiments of the Famous Lord *Verulam*, which I shall give in his own Words, out of his *Essays*, since I cannot put them in a better Garb. "There are two Swords amongst Christians, says that profoundly Learned Nobleman, The Spiritual and Temporal; but we may not take up the third Sword, which is *Mahomet's*, or like unto it; that is, To Propagate Religion by Wars, or Sanguinary Persecutions, to force Consciences; except it be in Case of overt Scandal, Blasphemy, or Intermixture of Practice against the State; much less to nourish Seditions; to authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions; to put the Sword into Peoples Hands, and the like, tending to the Sub-



“ version of Government, which is the Or-  
 “ dinance of God : For this is but to dash the  
 “ first table against the second, and so to con-  
 “ sider Men as Christians, as we forget they  
 “ are Men. *Lucretius* the Poet, when he  
 “ beheld the Act of *Agamemnon*, that could  
 “ endure the Sacrificing of his own Daughter,  
 “ exclaim’d.

*Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.*

“ What would he have said, if he had  
 “ known of the Massacre in *France*, or the  
 “ Powder-Treason of *England*? he would  
 “ have been seven times more *Epicure* and  
 “ Atheist than he was : For as the Tempo-  
 “ ral Sword is to be drawn with great Cir-  
 “ cumpection in Cases of Religion; so ’tis  
 “ a thing monstrous, to put it into the  
 “ Hands of the Common People: let that be  
 “ left to the *Anabaptists*, and other Furies. It  
 “ was great Blasphemy when the Devil said,  
 “ I will ascend and be like the Highest: But  
 “ ’tis greater Blasphemy to Personate God,  
 “ and bring him in, saying, I will descend and  
 “ be the Prince of Darkness: And what is it  
 “ better, to make the Cause of Religion to  
 “ descend to the Cruel and Execrable Actions  
 “ of Murthering Princes, Butchering People,  
 “ and Subversion of States and Governments:  
 “ Surely, this is to bring down the Holy  
 “ Ghost, instead of the likeness of a Dove, in  
 “ the shape of a Vulture and Raven; and to  
 “ set out of the Barque of a Christian Church,  
 “ the Flagg of a Barque of Pyrats and As-  
 “ sassines, &c.

And thus he Concludes, “ Surely, in Coun-  
cils



cils concerning Religion, that Counsel  
 “ of the Apostle would be prefix’d, *Ira homi-*  
 “ *nis non implet justitiam Dei*; and it was a  
 “ Notable Observation of a wise Father, and  
 “ no less Ingenuously confessed, *That those*  
 “ *which held and perswaded Pressure of Con-*  
 “ *sciences, were commonly Interested therein*  
 “ *themselves, for their own Ends.*

All the Observation I shall make on these  
 well-set Words, is, That if this Great Soul  
 had liv’d in the Year 1641, he would not  
 have fail’d to put the Horrid Massacre in *Ire-*  
*land* in the same Black Category with *Paris*  
 and *London*: But I think strange, that men-  
 tioning the Murder of Princes, he did forget  
 the Assassination of *Henry the IIIrd. of France*  
 by *J. Clement*; and that of *Henry the IVth.*  
 by *Fr. Raviliack*, as also that of the Founder  
 of the Great Republick in the *Netherlands*,  
 I mean, the Famous *Grave William of Orange*,  
 Murder’d by *Balthazar Gerard* at *Delph*;  
 for all these Princes were Assassinated under  
 Pretence of Religion, during the Life-time of  
 that Famous Viscount of *St. Albans*.

The other Pretence for a Lawful War, is,  
 the growing Greatness of a Neighbour Prince,  
 or State, whose Wings, by a seasonable Pre-  
 vention, may be justly Clipp’d, as many sup-  
 pose, lest they overspread and darken the  
 whole Hemisphere round about them: All  
 Carnal Politicians hugg this Doctrine as most  
 Orthodox; yea, they reckon upon the Judi-  
 cious *Sir Francis Bacon*, as one of their num-  
 ber; because he says something in his *Essays*  
 which they lay hold upon, as favouring of  
 their Opinion: his Words are these, *Neither*  
*is the Opinion of some of the Schoolmen to be*  
*receiv’d*



received, That a War cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent Injury or Provocation: for there is no question, saith he, but that a just Fear of an imminent Danger, tho' there was no Blow given; is a lawful Cause of War. It had been much for the Peace of the Christian Church, that these *Cumini Sēctores*, the Schoolmen, had never stumbled on less agreeable Doctrine to the Catholick Faith, than this Position, which doth, indeed, comprehend the two Justifiable Causes of War above assign'd, viz. The Repelling of Injuries, and the Repetition of Right; and I have the Charity to believe, that the just Fear of an imminent Danger, though there was no Blow given; is thus to be understood, in the Words of Sir Francis Bacon, That all Neighbour Princes have good Reason to stand upon their Guard, and to look well to themselves, when one is wonderfully increas'd above what he was, even tho' yet he hath given no Blow: but if in his much lower Sphere, he was too ready to deal Blows among his Neighbours, I grant, the Natural Principle of Self-preservation, may lawfully prompt them to Clip his overspreading Wings in time: and 'tis like, that it is of such a seasonable Prevention, the Words of that great Man, are truly to be understood.

But howsoever, I am still of Opinion, That without some antecedent Provocation, 'tis Unlawful for one Prince to Quarrel with another, meerly because he is become much greater in the World than formerly; providing, that the enlarging of his Territories hath nothing of unjust Purchase in it: For that Man might be thought very absurd, who should



should fall out with his Neighbour, because he is become Physically bigger and stronger than he was some few Years before : The same may be said of Civil Greatness, if great and small Things may be compar'd together. Let us first State the Case betwixt two neighbour Subjects, who are suppos'd to have been Heirs of equal Portions of Land, justly deriv'd from their Ancestors : It often happens, that one of 'em is so far from inhancing his Revenue, that it is much deteriorated by his Prodigality ; so that he is like in the end, to become his own Heir and Executor : But the other, by his Frugality, is become much greater than his Father left him ; *Parsimony alone*, saith *Cicero*, being a great Revenue : and withal he hath been so happy as to Marry a Rich Heir, whereby he hath enlarg'd his Territory ten times above what it was when his Father Dy'd : Now, were it Just and Reasonable for his Prodigal Neighbour to fall foul upon him, because he hath had a better Luck to the *Pelf* of the World than himself ? Sure I am, no Man could with a good Conscience, Pray for the Divine Assistance in such a War, nor Lawfully beg the help of his Neighbour's Prayers. The Application is obvious, and easy to be made to Sovereign Princes : for abstracting from any other Lawful means of increasing their Dominions, that of Lawful Marriage, is undoubtedly an Innocent and Natural Purchase, providing, a Wife's Dowry did justly belong to her ; there being nothing more Natural, than for a Son to Inherit the whole Fortune of his Parents, if there be no more Children of the Marriage ; yea, suppose there were very many, a double Portion, at least, was



was due to the first Born by the Divine Law.

The most pregnant and considerable Instance, *Europe* can afford, of the speedy and wonderful Growth of a Family by Matrimonial Contracts, is that of the Principality of *Austria*: the apparent Heir thereof, *Maximilian* the Ist. by Marrying the Daughter, and Sole Heir of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, gave his Posterity a solid Title to all the great Dominions which that Warlike Prince had Possess'd: But the immediate Son of the Marriage, *Philip* the Arch-Duke, made a much greater Accession to the Old States of *Austria*, by Espousing the Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Castile*, whereby he got in Possession the whole Continent of *Spain*, *Portugal* excepted, with solid Title to all, abstracting from the inveterate Claim of the Duke of *Medina Cali* upon *Navarre*. Now to have Quarrell'd with the House of *Austria*, meerly for this sudden extensive Greatness, had, in my Opinion, been very Unreasonable and Unjust, if none of the Descendants from that Marriage had abus'd that enlargement of Power: Neither do we read that *Philip* the Ist. the first of those Descendants, being a good mild Prince, gave any Provocation to his Neighbours; yea, he was more vex'd with his Wife's Jealousies at home, than with that of his Neighbours abroad.

Neither did the *French*, or *High* and *Low* *Dutch*, ever pretend their Quarrel against *Charles* the V. Son to the said *Philip*, and his Son *Philip* the Ild. was because that Family was become too great; but for the great Abuse of their grown Power, which amounted



ted to no less than a Design of an Universal Monarchy; at least, over all the Christians in *Europe*: So that they had good Reason to make timely Barricadoes against that Inundation. And tho' *Francis* the Ist. of *France*, and *Henry* the VIIIth. of *England*, during their Time, kept the Ballance of *Europe* pretty equal, against *Charles* the Vth, yet in all probability, that Ambitious Prince would have made all *Germany* truckle under *Spain*, as one of its Subdu'd Provinces; if after his dissolving the *Gordian Knot* of that *Smalcaldick* Confederacy with Sword in Hand, that Subtil new Duke of *Saxony*, nam'd *Maurice*, had not enter'd into a new Confederacy with *Henry* the IId. of *France*, whereby *Germany* did indeed lose those three Imperial Cities, *Mets*, *Thoul* and *Verdun*: But he, who affected a Tyranny over all, being asham'd of his Ignominious Flight from *Inspruck*, and because he could not recover what the Empire had lost in his Time; was constrain'd to hide his Head in a remote *Spanish* Monastery.

I now give the Reason, wherefore I excepted *Navarre* from the just Possessions of *Ferdinand* and the *Catholick*: They must be strangers to Modern History, who know not, that the said *Ferdinand* (whose Appetite after his Neighbours Dominions was *Catholick* enough) hearing of the Excommunication of *Lewis* the XIIth. of *France*, and of the King of *Navarre*, at that time, the Just Possessor of high and base *Navarre*, for taking part with the King of *France* against that Martial Pope, *Julius* the IId. and that the Pope, out of the Plenitude of his Power, had given these Kingdoms to the first Invader, who could prevail over them:



them: *Ferdinand*, under pretence of passing with his Army through *Navarre*, to Chastise that Eldest Son of the Church, for his undutiful Deportment towards his Spiritual Father, Seiz'd upon the far better part of *Navarre*, which lay nearest to him, and within the *Pyrenees*; that being a Morfel more easily devour'd, than the great Kingdom of *France*: And this he gave for an Excuse to his new Ally the King of *England*, who had Lent him considerable Forces, only for the Invading of *France*. I can give no better account of the Justice of the Pope's Donation, than what we find in the Answer of *Attabalipa*, Emperor of *Peru*, when *Marquis Pizarro* with his *Spaniards* told him, That the Pope had made a Gift of all his Dominions to the King of *Spain*: It was no barbarous Answer, that Barbarous Prince return'd, when he said, That the Man they call'd the Pope of Rome, behoov'd to be a very Unjust Person, to take upon him to give away, what never belong'd to him. *Lewis* the XIIth. manifested no little Zeal against that Roman Antichrist, when he order'd the Motto of his new Golden Coin to be, *Perdam Babylonis nomen*; not to speak of his Assembling that Council of *Pisa* against him: But a truly Generous Prince, would have been more Sanguine for the recovery of a Kingdom, which a Friend and Ally had lost in his Cause, than we find the said King of *France* to have been.

When the King of Terrors is about to shut the Eyes of the Body, the Eye of the Understanding and Conscience, is, in some, more open'd than formerly; so it fared with *Charles* the Vth. who on his Death-bed recommended



commended a Particular to his Son, which he had not formerly dream'd of; namely, the Restoration of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, as having a great Error in the first Concoction, yet with some Protestations and Reservations in that Last Will. His Son *Philip* the Ild. tho' he liv'd many Years after his Father; yet till Death look'd him in the Face, never found Leisure to look upon that Sham Testament; but then he made another on that Subject, yet with so many Limitations and Restrictions, that any Man may easily perceive, his Heart went not along with his Hand, as to any Restitution whatsoever. But methinks, it had been a more Rational Discourse on that grating Theme, and would have favour'd more of Ingenuity, for *Philip* to have said, That since now the Title to that Crown hath fallen to the King of *France*, 'tis but a just Compensation to keep *quid pro quo*, and that the Kings of *Spain* have Possess'd *Navarre*, for many Years, at least, *Jure gladii*, as the Kings of *France* have for some Ages Possess'd *Burgundy*, with no better Title: It being well known, that *Lewis* the XIth. of *France* surpriz'd the great Dutchy of *Burgundy*, as soon as he heard that the restless Duke thereof was kill'd by the *Switzers* at *Nancy*; and with this Aggravation of Injustice, That he oppress'd an Orphan; altho' the Great King of the World, whose Vicegerent he profess'd to be, hath assum'd to himself the Title of being the Great Protector of the Fatherless and Widows. Nor can it be deny'd, that the Pretence of that Perfidious Monarch of *France* was no less Frivolous than Unjust: especially, after 4 or 5 Descents, to say,  
That



That his Grandfather Charles the Vth. instead of being surnam'd Charles the Wise, should have been term'd Charles the Fool, for giving to a Younger Brother such a large Portion as the Dutchy of Burgundy. Which Dammage to the State, I confess, he did seasonably prevent by Poysoning his German Brother, as if he had been a Turk and no Christian.

But his Judicious Favourite Philip de Comines, wrote much better Sense, in saying, That tho' Lewis was unquestionably a very Subtil Prince; yet in this Affair, his Malice to the Father, which Death it self did not obliterate, quite drown'd his Wit; for he might easily have made a great Accession to the Crown of France, both of the Dutchy and County of Burgundy, and almost all the Netherlands, in a most Lewful way, if he had been willing that his Son Charles the VIIIth. should have Sued in Marriage such a Rich Consort, as was Mary of Burgundy: Which would undoubtedly have obviated the effusion of a Sea of Blood on the fatal Theater of West-Flanders. But from the Sinistrous and Oblique Methods of this Soulless Prince, we may observe the Verification of his Father's Prediction in a great measure; for when the said Lewis withdrew, most Undutifully, from his Natural Father Charles the VIIth, and took him to the Protection of the Duke of Burgundy, at that time Surnam'd the Good, who was Father to Charles the Hardy; the Dolphin's Father wrote an Expostulatory Letter to that Good and Great Duke, for entertaining an Unnatural Son, and assur'd him, as it were by a Prophetick Spirit, That he was cherishing a Snake in his Bosom, which, when Opportunity serv'd, would not fail to endeavour



*deavour the Ruin of his House.* And how effectually these Endeavours have been seconded by some of his Successors, needs not be told.

I hope, none will imagine, I intend to become Protector for the Interest of the present Ambitious *French Monarch*, if the two Qualifications above-mentioned, are duly remembred, viz. *That there hath been no previous Provocation, and that the Donor had a just Title to what he Possess'd, and transmitted to another; as being once his undoubted Property:* If it can be made appear, that *Lewis* the XIVth. is deficient in both these, it will evidently follow, That for all the pretended Gift of the Monarchy of *Spain*, he cannot justly Claim any benefit by the fore-going Resolution of the present Case, concerning a Lawful War. Few Words may discover the first Defect, I mean, the want of innocent Deportment in his lesser Orb; for he hath given so many bloody Demonstrations, these forty Years past, of his Designs and Endeavours to swallow up all his Neighbours, that they must needs be altogether blind, who do not see a Necessity for all, who live within his Reach, to Combine together, to prevent the growing Greatness of such a boundless and dangerous Ambition.

I shall next Examine briefly, the Title of the pretended Donation made to this Ambitious Monarch; for I look upon his Grandchild as a meer Cypher in the Matter. After the Death of King *James* the Vth. of *Scotland*, Poyson'd by the Roman Clergy, if we believe *Melvil*, in his *Memoirs*; leaving no Will behind him, Cardinal *Beaton* caus'd draw up one for him, as he himself thought fit, and had two Priests rea-



dy to Depose upon Oath, That they saw the King put his Hand and Seal to it : But there was an indispensable necessity for guiding his Hand by another, being then Dead. Altho' this Cardinal was a Proud, Malicious, Avaricious and Luxurious Prelate ; yet since he had not a Monopoly of those Vices, who knows, but that another Cardinal might have been influenc'd, by the same Vile Principles, to falsify a Testament, in Name of the late King of *Spain*. The *Golden Eloquence* of *France* hath persuaded greater Matters than all that : But this Cardinal having already appear'd at an higher Port, to give an account of his Deportment upon Earth, I shall let him alone. Yet one thing I must add, That it is altogether unaccountable, the late King of *Spain* should have shewn such an extraordinary Favour to his Brother-in-law, when he was a Dying, whom for many Years he utterly detested ; especially, after his violent Encroachments upon *Catalonia*, the County of *Burgundy* and the *Spanish Netherlands* ; to which, he had no better Title than Cardinal Richlieu's *Ultima ratio Regum* : not to mention his great Antipathy at the Tripartite Division. So that the King of *Spain* had good Reason to his Dying-day, to apply to his Brother of *France*, the Character, given by the Poet, of the Iron age.

*Vivitur ex rapto, non hospes ab hospite  
tutus ;*

*Non socer a genero, Fratrum quoque gratia  
rara est.*

But suppose, there was a real as well as a formal Testament presented, and that the  
late



late King of *Spain* was *Compos Mentis* when it was made, and Master of as much Reason as ever before, which was never very Profound; yet it being a *non habente Potestatem*, it could not be Valid in Law: For'tis certain, his Kingdom was not Conquer'd by him, and therefore he could not Alienate, or make a Gift of it, in whole or part, to a Stranger Prince; nor make it Tributary, without the Consent of the States of the Kingdom. All Princes, Elective or Hereditary, being only Ufusufructuaries, they cannot Alienate the Propriety from the Royal Line, without the Consent of the Representatives of the Kingdom; according to that Maxim, both of Law and Justice, *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet*: Yea, when the Royalty is confin'd, by the *Magna Charta* of a Kingdom, to such a Line, all the Representatives of it cannot, without great Injustice, Abdicate the Apparent or Presumptive Heir of the Crown, unless they have forfeited their own Right, by Acts which justly render them unworthy of the Succession. So that, there being nothing of this Nature Libell'd against the House of *Austria*, either judicially or Extra-judicially, they have reason to think themselves egregiously wrong'd; since, as that Matter was Circumstanced, the Right of Succession did unquestionably belong to them.

*William the Conqueror*, pretended a Right to the Crown of *England*, by such another Sham-Testament; but if his Sword had been as blunt, as the Pen of *Edward the Confessor*, he had never been King of that Nation: for the generality then Living, look'd upon it as meerly Fictitious: Nay, sup-



pose that Donation had been real ; yet, if we believe the Worthy Sir *William Temple*, the most Judicious Civilians of that time, judg'd it altogether invalid in Law, for the Reasons above express'd ; not to speak of that Rule of Law, *Nemo plus Juris in alium transferre potest, quam ipse habet* : For *Edward the Confessor*, was Half Brother to *Edmond Ironside*, and *Hardy Canute the Dane* ; yet 'tis certain, that the Right remain'd in the Posterity of the Elder Brother *Edmund* ; of which, that Good King and Confessor being at last convinc'd, he frankly offer'd to resign the Crown in Favour of *Edward*, Surnam'd *the Out-law*, Eldest Son to *Edmund Ironside* ; but the Nephew very generously refus'd to accept of that Offer so long as his Uncle liv'd : So that no fewer than three Usurpers of the Crown of *England* were found living together in one Year, viz. the said *Confessor*, *Harald* the Son of *Earl Goodwin*, who also pretended a Title by his Mother, Daughter to *Canutus* the Ist, tho' some call her a Bastard ; and finally *William Duke of Normandy* : Nevertheless, it may be truly said of that Excellent *Confessor*, of a Saint like Conversation in the World, and such an Impartial Justiciary, that he put his own Mother Queen *Emma*, who had been Wife to two Kings, to the *Ordealian Tryal* ; I say, it may be justly affirm'd of him, that after the generous Refusal of the Crown by *Edward the Out-law*, he then Possess'd the same *bona Fide*, and with a good Conscience, much like to that Old Law of *Tannistry* in *Scotland*, which continu'd for many Centuries of Years ; till *Keneth* the III<sup>d</sup>. with Consent of Parliament, Establish'd the present



present Method. I know, it may be Object-  
ed, That the Nephew Dy'd before the Un-  
cle, and consequently, that the *Confessor* was  
then bound, at least, to offer a Resignation  
in favour of *Edgar Atheling*, Grand Nephew  
to *Edmund Ironside*: But considering the Mild-  
ness of that Prince, during the whole Course  
of his Pilgrimage, I'm confident, he would  
have been found no less Generous than his Fa-  
ther; but he was in his Non-age when the *Con-  
fessor* Dy'd.

In fine, let us consider the Emergencies to  
this purpose, during the Reign of *Edward* the  
VIth. of *England*, a very hopeful Prince, if we  
believe the Famous *Cardan*, who Discours'd  
more than once with him, after his Curing  
the Primate of *Scotland*: but he was young,  
and having too little of his Father's Briskness,  
he had the Ill luck to have divided Councils  
as long as he liv'd; over which, that Perfidi-  
ous Duke of *Northumberland*, after he had  
procur'd the Death of that simple Duke of *So-  
merfet*, the King's Uncle, got such an A-  
scendant, that he persuaded both King and  
Council to set aside both the Presumptive  
Heirs, tho' his own Sisters, and to declare  
Lady *Jane Gray*, who was indeed of the  
Blood-Royal, tho' in a Collateral Line, to be  
Sole Inheritrix of the Crown after his Death;  
and all, forsooth, because the Duke's 4th  
Son had Marry'd her, who, for Gifts of Body  
and Mind, might have been a Compleat  
Match to the greatest Monarch upon Earth,  
being, tho' very Young, an extraordinary *Vir-  
tuosa*: But such was the Fate of this Inno-  
cent Passive Soul, that her Royalty may be  
said to be like the Pageantry of *Thomas*



*Agnellus* or *Massianello*, in these latter Years, each of which lasted but ten Days. No doubt, that Apostate Duke err'd exceedingly in his Politicks, in not procuring a Parliament to be Assembled, to Ratify what the King and Council had done: but either they would not, or could not justly have done it; for the Reasons already express'd. But, if some belie him not, his Ambition marr'd his Policy; for he was so desirous to see his Son mount the *English* Throne, with his Royal Consort, that the King's Death prevented the Legal Convocation of the Parliament, the Poyson having been more operative than he imagin'd.

I know, it may be Objected, That by the *English* Parliament, a Priviledge was given to that Imperious Prince *Henry* the VIIIth, to dispose of the Crown any way he pleas'd, if so be, he nam'd his Successor, during his Life: But it must be consider'd, that this Prerogative was not only confin'd to the *Norman* Race, but also limited to his own Children, whose Births being somewhat Controverted, they thought they could not pitch upon a fitter Judge of the Genuine and Legitimate Nativities of the Son and two Daughters, than he, who was the suppos'd Father: So that he had no Power to Alienate the Crown to a Stranger: Yet from what was then done, we may evidently perceive, that the Parliament of *England*, upon the Matter, did formerly That, which in this Age, has made much more clamour and noise.

From what is thus Premised, we may infer, this Conclusion, That *France* hath at last swallow'd up *Spain*, *vis & modis*, which are not justifiable; tho' *Nostradamus*, in one  
of



of his *Stanza's*, fore-told the matter of Fact long ago, even in the Days of *Henry* the II<sup>d</sup>. of *France*, when *Spain* was carrying on their Design of an Universal Monarchy. So that tho' *France* now pretends to the Possession, yet the House of *Austria* having the only Right, even as good a Title as the Line of *Sancho* can impart; 'tis certainly, a Work of Justice and Charity to assist an Injur'd Prince in the Recovery of his Right: And 'tis presum'd, that all Christian Princes and States, who regard their own Safety, and the true Interest of *Europe*, will lend an helping Hand, and effectually endeavour to retrieve the Ballance of it, by reducing the over-grown Power of *France*, at least, to its old Limits: And for the Encouragement of all, who are already contributing such a Just and Charitable Assistance, 'tis to be consider'd, That the Prince of Peace will assuredly, perhaps very speedily, give Peace to *Europe*, by causing the Impartial Leveller to lay some lofty Heads in the Dust, where Kings and Beggars become equal.

Perhaps, some will readily say, If all Just Purchases are to be reduc'd solely to these two Heads, of *Repelling Injuries*, and *Repetition of Right*; It will appear, that most of the Empires and Kingdoms of the World have at first been Founded in Usurpation; since upon an exact Scrutiny, it will be found, That the *Jus Gladii*, is the only Right they can pretend unto for their first Possession; which is but a very bad Title in point of Morality; therefore, we desire your Opinion in the matter, without Fear or Favour of any. Which I



shall, God willing, give with all the Ingenuity I am Master of.

That this Charge ought not to be so general, may appear from the following Considerations.

1. All Elective Kingdoms must be excluded from this Imputation: I mean, when a great Body of People, who never had a King; but were Govern'd either by an Aristocracy, or Democracy; make Choice of one from among themselves, or of a Stranger, for his great Vertue, to be their Head; as the Romans did *Numa Pompilius*, after *Romulus* was dead without Children; sure, there is no Usurpation in the matter: nay, in such a Case, *Vox Populi*, may, in some Sence, be term'd *Vox Dei*,

2, Which Divine Voice, was more apparent in the Call of some of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, who could not, without Blasphemy, be term'd Usurpers, since they Reign'd by express Divine Designation: and tho' there were many Petty Kings in the Land of *Canaan*, when the People of God by strong Hand, took Possession of it; yet we must not look upon 'em as Usurpers, because there was a *Translatio Domini*: for, as Civilians Phrase it, *A Superiour upon Earth, may very Lawfully Recognosce the Land of his Vassal, for his continu'd Disobedience and undutifulness*: How much more Justly might the Great Lord Paramount of Heaven and Earth, transfer the Dominion of the Wicked *Amorites*, when the Cup of their Iniquity was become full, unto his own People, who were presum'd to be found more faithful Homagers,



magers, and more obedient Vassals: Yet 'tis very observable, that tho' these four, who were infinitely Honour'd by the Divine Nomination, could not possibly be Tyrants, by Usurpation; yet they were all found to be so, by Domination; he only excepted, who was declar'd to be a *Man according to God's own Heart*.

3. We may pass our Judgment in this Matter, as Divines and Civilians do, of the Obligation of the Acts and Canons of General Councils: Suppose a National Church had been invited to send Commissioners thither; Yet if they had no Delegates there to represent 'em, they are not bound to obey the Acts of that Council; because all National Churches are Co-ordinate, when the respective States are Independent; but if these Acts and Canons be afterwards accepted by a Posterious Acknowledgment, then they become Obligatory, because they are so Adopted by a National Council, as some Provincial Synods have been, by those which are justly term'd *Oecumenical*. On the same account, the Usurper, or his Heir, may be put in *bona Fide* to Govern, by a voluntary Acceptation of the whole Body of the People, or at least their Representatives, cloath'd by 'em with full Commission for that effect: Thus it fared with *Augustus Caesar*, whose entry into the *Roman* Government could not but be Violent, he being one of the *Bloody Triumviri*: yet when, by the Advice of his Wise Minions, *Agrippa* and *Mæcenæ*, he laid down his Usurp'd Power at the Senate's Feet, in Jest, or Earnest, I shall not determine, and was then humbly entreated, by all the Representatives of the People, to resume that Power, even



even a Paternal Power over 'em, who Unanimously gave him the Epithet of *Pater Patriæ*, and that he would only accept of it for Ten Years, which from Ten to Ten was at last Prorogu'd beyond Forty, and even to the Day of his Death: All these Circumstances being consider'd, we have Reason to conclude, that he became a Lawful Prince, and that there was found in him an happy *Metempsychosis*, or a Transition, from a Tyrannical Usurpation to a Just Domination.

In the last Place, I find great stress laid, by many, upon Prescription, especially, when it extends to many Centuries of Years, which, unquestionably, hath been the Fate of many Empires and Kingdoms, which began with Usurpation: tho', I confess, the Civil Law requires, at least, a *Titulus Coloratus*, for Prescription, in conformity to that Rule of Law, *Quod ab initio non valet, progressu temporis valere non potest*; it being very Natural and Lawful, for one, whom a Robber, by strong Hand, hath dispossest'd of that House, which was justly his own, to regain the Possession of it, by that same Physical Argument, whereby he was Ejected; even after many Years Dispossession. So that, in my Judgment, a Possessor *malæ Fidei*, tho' many Winters had snow'd on his Head, and many Ages on his Posterity, yet can never enjoy the same with a good Conscience, whatever Pretensions may be made to Humane Laws, till the People be restor'd to that Liberty which was Usurp'd from them, at least, an offer of Restitution made, as a Preamble to the Consent of the People: for that old Maxim, *Non remittitur Peccatum, si non restituatur ablatum*, may be



be apply'd to this Case, because the Acceptation of the Injur'd Person, may purify the unjust Possession; for *Volenti non fit Injuria*.

Now, as to what I promis'd concerning the Commenc'd Usurpations of Empires and Kingdoms, which are so much taken notice of in Humane History, and partly in the Sacred: To ransack all the Corners of Secular Story for such Usurpations, were Herculean Labour, and more tedious than edifying to the Curious Reader; there being divers little Kingdoms, scarce worth the minding, how they begun, continue, or ended; because Barbarous Kings have Rul'd over no less Barbarous People, and many of 'em so inconsiderable, whether Usurpers or Legitimate, that they never deserv'd the Glorious Epithets of Kings or Princes, extensively nor intensively; I mean, as to the Bounds of Dominion, or the Virtues of the Dominator. I shall therefore only give a brief touch of the four Celebrated Empires, and of the Kingdoms in *Europe*, which have made the greatest Noise in this Part of the World.

By the four Empires, I understand, the *Assyrian*, the *Persian*, the *Græcian* and *Roman*; which Division, by the most Judicious Interpreters of Holy Scriptures, and exactest Chronologers and Historians, is Collected mostly from the Book of *Daniel*; so that 'tis a Matter of Admiration, to find so Knowing a Person, as *Bodin* appears to be, in his large Treatise *De Republica*, and in his *Method of History*; yet in both, so confidently to averre, That the *Roman* Empire is not hinted in Holy Scripture, but only the *Assyrian*, the *Babylonian*,



*lonian*, the *Persian* and the *Græcian* : For I am persuaded, if he had, but once, seriously ponder'd the Visions of *Daniel*, or but that one Dream of *Nebuchadnezzar*, mention'd in the 2d. Chapter of that Book, he would not have been long of that Opinion : For *Daniel* said expressely to *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Thou art that Head of Gold*; as contra-distinguish'd from the *Silver*, the *Brass* and *Iron*; not to speak of *the God of Heaven his raising up another Kingdom* in the Days of those Kings, which is generally and truly understood of the Incarnation of the Son of God, and the giving to him all Power in Heaven and Earth : And who knows not, that the Blessed Nativity of the Prince of Peace, did fall out in the 42d. Year of *Augustus Cesar*, when the Temple of *Janus* was shut, and when the *Roman Empire* was at its greatest height?

I suppose, *Bodin's* Mistake arose from the consideration of the greatness of the *Babylonish* Empire, as contradistinguish'd from that Race of *Nimrod*, which for many Centuries of Years continu'd, till the Days of *Sardanapalus*, in whom the Line of *Ninus* was extinct : I confess, it was the most lasting of all the other Empires, even as to that *Nimrodian* Race; yet *Bodin* might have consider'd, that the two other great Dynasties which arose after the Subduing of that Luxurious Prince, may be truly said to have been rais'd out of the Ruins of the Old *Assyrian* Monarchy, and therefore reckon'd but two great Appennages of it : I mean, that which was Erected again at *Nineveh* by *Phul Belochus* and his Posterity, till the same was swallow'd up by *Merodach Baladan* and his Successors, in that new *Babylonish*



*Babylonish* Kingdom. Whether *Phul* was an Usurper or not, I shall not determine; but 'tis certain, that *Merodach Baladan*, usurped first the *Babylonish* Kingdom, and then that of *Nineveh*; for he had been only appointed Governor of *Babylon* by *Sennacherib* the Father of *Esarhaddon*; but this Ambitious Deputy not only seiz'd on his own Province, immediately after the Death of his Constituent, but also turn'd his Son out of *Nineveh*, and so became Lord of all that Province, as *Nineveh* was of *Assyria*; but most usually term'd the *Assyrian* Empire, because *Babylon* was the first Seat of the Old *Assyrian* Monarchs.

That *Nimrod* was not only the first of the *Assyrian* Kings, but also the first Monarch after the Flood, is evident from Holy Scripture: and if they were all *Volunteers*, who went with him into the Land of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*, and if he brought that *Castling* or Colony in *rem vacuum*, he cannot be term'd an Usurper on that account; for in *pari jure melior est Conditio possidentis*: on which Supposition, I could join Issue with Sir R. Filmer in his *Patriarcha*, tho' I'm persuaded, no considering Man, will comply with his wild Fancy, That Monarchical Government is the only Lawful *Regimen* among Men, because, forsooth, it is the only Paternal Government: but according to his own Doctrin, That the Father of the Family had the Sole Right to Govern his Posterity, and the Eldest Son to succeed the Father in that Natural Administration; it will clearly follow, That *Nimrod* was an Usurper, since his Father *Cush*, and Grandfather *Cham*, and *Noah* also, were then living: For the best Chronologers place the  
*Æra*



*Æra* of the *Assyrian* Monarchy at the furthest end of the III<sup>d</sup>. Century, after the General Deluge: and 'tis certain, from Holy Scripture, That *Noah* liv'd 350 Years after the Flood: But for his further Castigation, I remit him to *Algernon Sidney*, who, Copiously, and Nervously, discovers many foolish Whims in that Book. And that the first great Empire, was a great Complex of many Usurpations, we need no other Evidence, than to consider the Provinces surrounding *Babylonia* and *Assyria*, viz *Susiana*, *Arabia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, *Armenia* and *Media*; all which, were soon Subdu'd by those Usurping Monarchs: Yea, we find, that *Ninus*, the 3<sup>d</sup>. of that Race, went once and again the length of *Bactria* with a great Army, and at last, Subdu'd *Zoroaster* the King thereof, and made Slaves of all his People: Yea, his Virago Queen, *Semiramis*, prompted by the same Ambition, Invaded *India* with a great Army; but *Staurobates* their King encount'r'd her with a greater, at least, more Valiant and better Disciplin'd; so that, if she lost not her Life there, as some averre, she return'd with little Honour, and much Loss.

As for that *Neck of Silver*, the *Persian* Empire, it may be thought a Paradox to affirm, That the Founder of it, was not an Usurper: but I am fully persuaded, That the Grand *Cyrus* was least guilty of Usurpation amongst all the Founders of those 4 great Monarchies; which I shall briefly make appear, without *Xenophon's* aid, whose *Cyropædia*, seems to be somewhat Romantick, shewing rather what a Prince should be, than what he really was: for if all was true, that he tells  
of



of the Grand *Cyrus*, we will hardly find such another Hero in all the World: Yet in proving my Assertion, I shall altogether abstract from his Invading the *Massagets* in his Old Days, where he lost his Life, if we believe some Historians, and had his Head thrown into a Bowl of Blood, by that Masculine Queen *Thomiris*, with this Sarcastm, *Blood thou desiredst, now glut thy self with it*: But I the rather suspect the certainty of this Story, that all the Writers of the Life of *Alexander the Great*, affirm, That his *Skeleton* was found entire in his Sepulchre at *Pasargada* in *Persia*, even in the Days of that Conqueror: Yet since all grant, that he came off with little Honour, and great Loss, we have reason to conclude, That a Judgment befel him for his design'd Usurpation: for neither the *Assyrian* Empire, nor *Median* Monarchy had ever any Superiority over those *Scythians*, who are term'd *Massagetes*.

Now, if I shall be able to prove, That he had a just Title to the Kingdom of *Media*, Possess'd by *Astyages* when he Invaded it; to the Kingdom of *Asia* the less, or the greatest part of it, then Possess'd by King *Cræsus*; and to the Kingdom of *Babylon*, whereof *Belshazzar*, Grand-child to the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, was Monarch; I hope, my Assertion is made good; because these three Monarchies comprehended all he ever Possess'd. I shall begin, as he did, with *Media*: It cannot be deny'd, that *Persia*, in his Father's time, was subject to the *Medes*, and that *Cyrus* not only threw off that Yoke, but also came with an Army against his Grand-Father *Astyages*: but let the Reader consider, That his Unnatural  
Grand-



Grand-father, startled with some Ambiguous Oracles, design'd to have smother'd his Grand-child in his Swadling-cloaths, and was still laying Snares and Plots for his Life: so that, upon the natural Account of Self-preservation, *Cyrus* stood in his own defence, and at last drove his Grand-father out of his Kingdom; let him be reputed an Usurper for awhile, yet it may be said, That the Death of the Grand-father, and of the Uncle and Father-in-law, purify'd the Usurpation, and did at last, consolidate the Right with the Possession: for *Astyages* had only two Children, *Cyaxares*, a Son; and *Mandane*, a Daughter: the Daughter was Mother to *Cyrus*, who took to Wife his Cousin German, the Daughter of \* *Cyaxares*, and his only Child; so that the Title which Father and Son had to the Kingdom of *Media*, behoved to devolve upon *Cyrus* and his Heirs, as soon as they were dead.

\* call'd in  
holy Scri-  
pture *Dari-  
us Medus.*

† *Cræsus* Ha-  
lym pene-  
rans mag-  
nam subver-  
tet opum  
vim.

As for *Cræsus*, the Rich King of *Lydia*, *Cyrus* had not the least Design against him, and I believe, would never have given him any trouble, because he was his Grand-Uncle, being Brother to the Mother of *Mandane*: but *Cræsus* having been wofully deluded by the dubious † Response of the *Delphian* Oracle, went beyond the Limits of his own Empire, and Attack'd his Grand-Nephew; where, instead of Defeating *Cyrus*, he overthrew his own Monarchy: for tho' his Forces were more numerous, yet *Cyrus* was the more Mar-  
tial Prince, and whose Mountainous *Persians* did far exceed, both in Courage and Strength, the Voluptuous *Asiatics*: Yea, *Cræsus* committed another great Error, on the back of the former; for he instantly Disbanded his Army,  
of



of which, some Thousands had Rally'd again, after the Defeat, and sent them to their Winter-Quarters; concluding, that *Cyrus* would not pursue him again, till the Winter was over: But that Vigilant Prince hearing what *Cræsus* had done, March'd apace after him, and soon compell'd *Sardis* to yield, and made that (Ill-advis'd) King Prisoner; so that *Cræsus*, instead of clipping the Wings of *Cyrus*, had all his own Feathers burnt, and his Person Adjudg'd to the Flames, had not the Wise Saying of *Solon* the *Athenian* Law-giver rescu'd him: But that so Generous a Prince would have design'd such an Unnatural and Inhumane Act, I as little believe, as doth his Panegyrist *Xenophon*.

It is much more difficult to justify his Possession of the Kingdom of *Babylon*. Some think his War against *Belshazzar* was, because he had aided *Cræsus* against him; which was very probable, in regard they were Allies, and that it might be a Diversion to *Cyrus*, since he understood that this Victorious Prince was upon his March against himself. But this gives occasion to enquire after the Reason, Why *Cyrus* entertain'd that Design; antecedent to any Interruption *Cræsus* thought to have made in his Progress: The best Account I can give of it, tho' a very old one, is the Title which the Kings of *Media* had to Superiority both over *Nineveh* and *Babylon*; for Superiours are apt to pretend, That Vassalage cannot be prescrib'd from them; and Ancient Histories do bear, That when the Governours of all the Provinces of the old *Assyrian* Empire had parted the Pelf amongst 'em, after the Death of *Sardanapalus*, they all own'd



\* So the  
Fecneh term  
the Crime of  
an insolent  
Vassal, who  
invades the  
property of  
his Superi-  
our.

a dependance on the Crown of *Media*, as the most considerable Principality at that time: but *Arbaces* being a mild Prince, and some of his Successors very soft, the Princes of *Nineveh* and *Babylon* did not only withdraw their Heads from that Yoak, but also became guilty of \* *Purpresture*; for which we have sufficient Evidence in Holy Scripture, where we read, That *Salmanassar* (the *Nabonassar* of Chronologers) having ruin'd the Kingdom of *Samaria*, and carry'd away the Ten Tribes to an endless Captivity, he plac'd some of 'em in the Cities of the *Medes*: 'tis therefore probable, *Cyrus* was pursuing his old Title, the Crown of *Media* gave him, against *Belshazar* King of *Babylon*.

As for the *Belly of Brass*, the *Grecian* Empire, I shall dispatch the Censure of it in few Words. The *Greeks* were indeed, Invaded twice by the numerous Armies of the *Persians*; first in the Days of *Darius Hystaspes*, and next by *Xerxes* in Person, both by Sea and Land: but the first Attempt being crush'd by the Valour of *Miltiades* at *Marathon*, and *Xerxes's* Naval Forces, overthrown at *Salamis*, by the Courage and wise Conduct of *Themistocles*, another *Athenian*; and their Land Army at *Plataea*, by the Gallantry of *Pausanias* King of *Sparta*, after the ignominious Flight of *Xerxes*, the *Persians* rather truckled with their Money, than with their Martial Arms; and when the *Athenians* objected the Burning of their City, they usually recriminated, That the *Greeks* had burnt *Sardis* the Metropolis of *Lydia*. But pray, What hurt had they done to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, that *Alexander the Great* went against them with a De-  
sign



sign utterly to Ruin that *Persian* Monarchy; tho' for a Pretence, he would be declar'd Captain General of all the *Greeks*, as his Father had been; but *Pausanias* stopp'd his Design: So that if the Reader would have my Ingenuous Sentiments of that matter, I'm persuaded, the *prora* and *puppis* of *Alexander's* Design, was meer Ambition, which restless and turbulent Passion was the *Cynosura*, or Pole-star that guided him all his Days: For what Provocation can the Kings of *India* be suppos'd to have given either *Alexander* or his Constituents, who had never heard of *Greece* before, and had no Dependance on the *Persian* State. So that this Conqueror did not suffer the Pyrate to belie him, when he told him, (as is before notic'd) *That he was the greatest Robber of the two; who, both by Sea and Land, endeavour'd to rob all the World.* And if it was true, That he weep'd when he had no more Worlds to Conquer, tho' thereby he shew'd himself a bad Geographer, having never Conquer'd the 4th part of this; yet he sufficiently discover'd his Design, to Usurp upon all the World; and that there was such a Tradition concerning him, may appear from these Excellent Verses of *Juvenal* in his 10th Satyr.

*Unus Pellaë Juveneri non sufficit orbis;  
Æstuat infelix angusto limite Mundi,  
Ut Gyaræ clausus Scopulis, parvaque  
Seripho, &c.*

As for the *Legs and Feet of Iron*, whereby the *Roman* Empire was design'd, the strongest of all, as *Iron* is of all Metals: Some are so



Critical in the Censure of it, That they find the bad Omen of Usurpation about the very Foundation of that City, which was scarce well built when it became a Sanctuary to all kinds of Malefactors. But designing Impartial Truth in these Representations, I shall first give a brief Account of those Conquests of the *Romans*, which are somewhat justifiable; and next of such, which all Lovers of Righteousness will condemn.

Many Cities and little States in *Latium* and *Tuscany*, Contiguous to *Rome*, were indeed so fill'd with Envy at the growing Greatness of that upstart City, that by Force or Fraud, they were still endeavouring its Ruin; and tho' it was in the Power of the *Romans*, to have quite ruin'd such bad Neighbours, upon their first Defeat; yet if we believe *Titus Livius*, and other *Roman* Historians, they, more than once, dealt very gently with 'em, like moderate Physicians, applying rather Lenitives than Corrosives, that they might be perswaded, by such friendly Usage, to live as good Neighbours ought to do: But when they found 'em Incorrigible, and that nothing would satisfy them, unless the City of *Rome* was ruin'd, they were at last constrain'd, for their own Preservation, to cut off such Gangren'd Members of *Italy*, and Replant their Cities with *Roman* Colonies. The same may be apply'd to that Fierce Nation of the *Samnites*, tho' at a greater distance from *Rome*, who justly provok'd the *Roman* Arms against 'em, because they ceas'd not to oppress the *Campanians*, who had become voluntary Vassals to the *Romans*, in hope of Protection against those restless *Samnites*, whose stout  
Resistance,



Resistance, for many Years, gave occasion of several Triumphs to divers *Roman* Generals.

If we Travel either North, or East, we shall find the *Roman* Conquests somewhat justifiable, at least, their Possession of the Southern Parts of *France*, then term'd *Gallia Transalpina*; for they were still sending in such Shoals of Robbers into *Italy*, that they not only forc'd the old Inhabitants from that Part of the Country, which from these Usurpers was call'd *Gallia Cisalpina*; but also frequently oppress'd the Friends, Allies and Neighbours of the *Romans*; yea, reduc'd *Rome* it self to Ashes, and became so Formidable to the *Roman* State, that having by a Law Priviledg'd all their Priests from serving in the Wars; it had only this Exception, *unless they were again Invaded by the Gauls*. But if we turn to the *East*, it will be found that the *Romans* had a very just Quarrel against the *Illyrians*, whose Queen *Teuta* was such a Proud Unjust Dame, that she deem'd the Piracy practis'd by her Subjects to be a very Lawful Trade, and therefore went Snips with 'em; so that many Complaints being made by the *Roman* Merchants, That their Ships in the *Adriatick* and *Ionian* Seas, were Seiz'd by the *Illyrians*; instead of Satisfaction, that Barbarous Queen, against the Law of Nations, put the *Roman* Ambassadors to Death; whereby they were justly provok'd to inflict a Civil Death upon her, by depriving her of her Kingdom, and giving it to another.

They had also plausible Pretensions against *Philip* of *Macedon*, for siding with *Hannibal* against 'em; as also his naughty Son *Perses*,



and somewhat of that nature, against *Antiochus*, Surnam'd *the Great*, by his great Parasites; but a most Just Quarrel against *Mithridates*, the great King of *Pontus*, who most Inhumanely Murder'd above 100000 Romans in *Asia*, in one Night; whose vile Example was afterwards too readily follow'd by the Saxons upon the Danes; and when *Sylla* was call'd Home from that just Pursuit of this great Assaffine, to restrain the Havock which his great Rival *Marinus* was making of his Friends at Rome, both *Lucullus* and *Pompey the Great*, did justly prosecute that Quarrel, not only against *Mithridates*, but also against *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, who had Marry'd his Daughter, and that because he had given aid and shelter to that vile Murderer, his Father-in-law: Neither must we forget, that there were divers Kingdoms which fell to the Romans, by way of Legacy, viz. *Pergamus*, *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, all in *Anatolia* or *Asia the Less*; as also *Cyrene* in *Africk*; which were justly Possess'd by the Romans, if the Donors themselves had a just Title to 'em: for I doubt not, but what they did, was with the consent of the respective People. For at that time, the Romans were become so Formidable, that there was scarce any Civiliz'd Nation upon Earth, but would have been glad of their Protection. 'Tis frequently observ'd to the great Commendation of the Ancient Romans, That when they had enter'd into a League of Amity with any Nation, nigh or far off, suppose that People had other Friends engag'd with 'em in Offensive or Defensive War; yet the Romans were always first in the Field, when invited to their Aid; which



no doubt, argu'd a great deal of Generosity.

Having taken a transient View of the brighter side of the *Roman* Conquests; let us now take some notice of their darker Colours. I begin with the Isle of *Cyprus*, for the Usurping of which, they had no other Pretence, than that of a Masterful Robber to a Defenceless Traveller, that the one has Mony, and the other none; and therefore *oportet vivere & unde*; so that I find, all the *Roman* Historians, who Treat of this Matter, exceedingly asham'd of that Unjust Purchase: I shall give it in the Words of *Ammianus Marcellinus* in his *Geographical History* of that Island; Nor am I asham'd to say, said that Impartial Author, tho' a Pagan, that with greater Avarice than Justice, the Romans did Invade that Island; King *Ptolomy*, our old Confederate and Ally, being unworthily Proscrib'd, for no other Reason, but that our Treasury was bare, our Exchequer empty; and he no sooner prevented this Dishonour by a quick and voluntary Death, \* but the Island was forthwith made Tributary, and the Riches of it, as the Spoils of some Conquer'd Enemy, brought on Ship-board, and convey'd by *Cato* to Rome. *Sex-tus Rufus*, another *Roman* Historian, passeth his Censure as smartly, but more briefly; when, Treating of the Conquest of *Cyprus*, he says, *Avarius magis quam Justus sumus affecuti*.

\* Making himself away by Poyson.

I know, there is another Cause alledg'd for sending *Cato* on this Island, viz. That *Clodius*, their Tribune, who did expedite the Edict, might have Opportunity, by his Absence, to revenge himself on *Cicero*, and



some others of the opposite Faction; but the main Business was the Money, which amounted to 7000 Talents; that is, of our Coin now Current 2100000 Crowns; a vast Sum in those Times: For that fiery Tribune might have found many more justifiable Errands for sending *Cato* from Home, if the filling the empty Treasury had not been most acceptable to an Avaricious Senate: And as I am apt to believe, that *Cato* the Younger deserted his Friend *Cicero*, much against his own Inclination, So I'm persuaded, that such an Unjust Employment, as the harassing of that Fruitful Isle, was most distastful to him; for he was a Man of great Vertue; and a severe Observer of Commutative and Distributive Justice; yet his Imperious Lords and Masters behov'd to be obey'd. But to proceed in this Indictment.

Tho' the *Romans* had some Pretensions against the *Transalpine Gauls*, yet neither they, nor the *Carthaginians*, could pretend any such matter against the *Spaniards*, who neither Invaded *Italy* nor *Africk*; so that Ambition and Avarice, *hinc inde*, was the Motive to those great Rival Cities, to make a Prey of that great and rich Country. And tho' *Julius Caesar*, alledg'd, That the *Germans* had sometimes cross'd the *Rhine*, and Invaded the *Roman Colonies* in *Gaul*; yet he could pretend no such thing, as to the Ancient *Britains*, who had never cross'd the narrow Seas to give their Neighbours any trouble; yet to satisfy his Ambition, he was at pains to visit 'em, and subdue them to the *Roman State*; for which unjust Encroachment, 15 Days of Exultation were appointed at *Rome*: But *Cato Uticensis*,



*Uticensis*, the Prætor, judg'd better, if he had been heard, That Cæsar for his unjust Presumptuous Invading an Innocent People, without any Order from the Senate, should be bound Hand and Foot, and deliver'd to the Britains to be punish'd, as a Masterful Robber.

Some Historians pretend, That the Ancient Romans were so Generous, as never to Commence a War without some Just Provocation: but I suppose, it may be easily made appear, they were not Regulated by Justice in the undertaking that War which prov'd the most Dangerous, Bloody and Lasting, they were ever concern'd in; namely, 'twixt them, and the State of *Carthage*; and 'tis worth the while to know how it began; for 'tis certain, they had liv'd in great Amity together for many Years, before a Breach was occasion'd by the *Mammertines*.

These were a Troop of Soldiers Hir'd out of *Campania*, by the Tyrant *Agathocles*, and plac'd in the City *Messana*, for the Defence of it; but these Villains, afterwards term'd *Mammertines*, \* were so far from going away *insalutato hospite*, that finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, they gave their Hosts a sad Salutation, by dispatching 'em all out of this World, that they might Marry their Wives, and Possess their Houses and Lands; as the *Tyrian* Slaves had done long before to their Lords and Masters. Very shortly after this Inhumane Act, some Roman Soldiers Quarter'd in *Rhegium*, over against *Messana*, follow'd the bad Example of these *Mammertines* in all the Steps of it; for which, by order of the Senate, they were condignly Punish'd, all of 'em being most justly put to an Ignominious Death. But  
their

\* From Mars as some think, because they were Martial Men.



their Blood was scarce well Cold, when Ambassadors came to *Rome* from the *Mammertines*, demanding Aid against the *Carthaginians*, who then Possess'd the greatest part of the Isle of *Sicily*, and so strictly Besieg'd *Messana*, that unless they got speedy help, they would be forc'd to yield; and that they expected the *Romans* Assistance, because they were originally *Companians*, *Campania* having been long under the *Roman* Protection.

The Just and Sober part of the Senate, which made no great number, declar'd, it would be a lasting Stain on the Honour and Justice of the People of *Rome*, to Party a Pack of Murderers, who justly deserv'd the most shameful Death; and that they were concern'd to send Ambassadors to the *Carthaginians*, to give them Thanks for their laudable Design, in punishing such Execrable Traytors: Yea, they argu'd very Rationally, That since their Justice in Executing those Villainous Wretches at *Rhegium* was so much applauded, and the *Mammertines* being the more Criminal, in that they drew such a Bloody Copy to the *Rhegians*; instead of aiding them against the *Carthaginians*, it would be more Generous to assist the *Carthaginians* in bringing such Inhumane Caitiffs to speedy Punishment. But Carnal Policy over-ruled that Avaricious Senate, when they consider'd, That *Messana* over-look'd *Italy*, and that it was not fit to suffer such a Powerful State as *Carthage* to nestle so nigh them: Yea, it was further suggested, That *Sicily* being a most Fertile Island, and so near to their Continent, it was expedient to lay hold on so fair an occasion, under Pretence of assisting their Confederates,



federates, to drive the *Carthaginians* wholly out of *Sicily*, and so to make it a Granary for *Rome*. This Case is well Stated by their own Historian *Florus*, in few Words: *That War*, (saith he) *was undertaken, under pretence of Aiding the Mammertines, who had put themselves under their Protection; but in plain Terms, to get Possession of the Island, which lay fit for Italy; and thus the War begun 'twixt these Rival States, and was once and again renew'd upon scarce more justifiable Grounds, till that Great and Ancient City of Carthage was laid in Ashes; a lasting Monument of the Romans prosperous Villany!* I shall only add another Instance, very briefly, of their shameless Injustice, even when they pretended a Generous Design of setting all the *Greeks* at Liberty; namely, their ordering *Paulus Æmylius*, against his own Gentle and Courteous Nature, to break in upon the Kingdom of *Epirus*, in his return from the Conquest of *Macedon*; altho' the *Epirots* were at Peace with 'em, and never dream'd of such Inhumane Designs, till they found 70 of their Cities Sack'd in one Day, and 150000 Persons made Slaves.

Having thus Survey'd the 4 most Famous Empires in the World, out of whose Ashes many Kingdoms arose; especially in *Europe*; I shall be brief on the Usurpations which succeeded the Dissolution of the last of 'em. The most Considerable Kingdoms Erected in *Africk*, being that of *Ægypt*, from which the *Greek* Emperors were expell'd by the *Saracens*; they by the *Mammalucks*; and these by the *Turks*; and that of Old *Mauritania*, (as it comprehends *Fez* and *Morocco*) in which,



as in the Ancient *Numidia*, there have been more Revolutions, in a short time, than in any Part of the World; especially under the Notion of Zeal for Religion, or rather Superstition: Nor have the *Saracens* and *Turks* alone Domineer'd over *Asia*; but also the *Tartars*, over a great Part of it, a considerable time, before it was over-run by the Famous *Tamerlane*. But being to confine our Observations to our own Part of the World, let us cross the *Hellespont*, where the *Grand Seignior* will first occur; which Family of the *Ottomans*, beginning *An. 1300*, hath made such a hasty Progress, that they have Engross'd a great Portion of *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*; all which, in Conjunction, make up one great Mass of Usurpations; for they cannot be truly said to have one Foot of Land with a better Title, tho' they judge it enough, because that Grand Impostor *Mahomet* hath Authoriz'd them to Propagate their Faith by the Sword: So that believing him to be a true Prophet, they may Quarrel with their Neighbours, when they please.

From hence, let us cross Mount *Hæmus*, the *Danube* and *Rhine*, and enter into *France*, the greatest Kingdom in *Europe*; not in regard of Dimension, for *Sweden*, *Russia* and *Pole*, are of larger Extent; but for its being Wealthy and Populous: Yet in the Wealthiest Kingdoms, as *Pliny* observ'd, in his *Panegyrick to Trajan*, *The Exchequer of a Tyrant, fitly resembles the Spleen in the Natural Body, which, when greatly swell'd, extenuates all the other Members.*

Being to give a very brief Hint of the multitude of Usurpations which have been even  
among



among Christian Princes in *Europe*, I shall not speak of those Partial ones made by the *Burgundians*, the *Normans*, the *Goths*, and after them by the *Moors*; for the great Conquest of Ancient *Gaul*, after the Expulsion of the *Romans*, was made by the *Franks*, when they cross'd the *Rhine*, and broke in upon *Gallia Transalpina*; which is usually reduc'd to three Dynasties, or Royal Families, all of the same Nation, viz. the *Merovingian*, *Carolingian* and *Capetian*, which Division is so well known, for Usurpation, that I need not prove it. And all, who are acquainted with the *French* History, cannot but know, that the last Dynasty hath already continu'd longer than both the former.

An account cannot indeed be given of any Heir of the *Merovingian* Family, but not so of the *Carolingian*; as the Reader may perceive from that scruple of Conscience which possessed *Lewis* the IXth. of the *Capetian* Race, deservedly term'd St. *Lewis*, as being a good Prince, and Zealous, tho' Unfortunate, in his frequent Attempts against the *Saracens*; he was at first scrupulous to accept of that Crown, which he suppos'd more justly belong'd to the House of *Lorrain*, but was easily satisfy'd, after it was made appear that he was descended from a Female of that ancient Family; not considering, that by Law and Nature, Males, in such cases, are preferable to Females: but a massy Crown can as easily dissolve such doubts, as the Sword of *Alexander* did cut the *Gordian Knot*. I know, the truth of this Story is call'd in question by some parasitical Scriblers of this age, as is also the Solidity of the Title of *Lorrain*; but  
sure



sure I am, they would lose the Cause, if that Controversie were to be decided by the Pen. So that if the present *French King*, or his pretended Father, had carried any respect to Justice, they would at least have verifi'd the old Proverb, namely, *to let a word go with the Loser*, by suffering those Princes to enjoy that ancient Dutchy peaceably. Since their Predecessors had long ago rob'd them of the Crown of *France*: for I suppose the Restoration of the present Duke was more owing to the Magnanimity of the Allies, than the Generositie or Justice of *Lewis* the XIVth; some Natures being so perverse that they will never do just things without Compulsion: but that the pulling of such a fair Plume out of his Wing was very uneasie to him, would seem to be plain enough from his present measures. And I shall only add here my hearty wish, that those Heroick Confederates had been as sanguin for the poor oppressed Protestants, as they were for a Poor oppressed Duke.

Let us cross the *Pyrenees* into the Twelve Kingdoms of *Spain*, which after they had been over-run by the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, became a Prey to the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Swevi*; and when these had quitted the Stage, they were mastered by the *Visigoths*, and at last by the *Saracens* and *Moors*; whose Usurpation was more lasting than all the former: for from the defeat of *Roderick* the last King of the *Goths*, till the final Conquest of *Granada* by *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, Anno 1492, almost 800 Years interveen'd; a longer Series of time than did belong to all the other Invaders, after the Conquest by the *Romans*.



I have already given my Opinion concerning the Family of the *Cerdæ*, unjustly dispos-  
sess'd by the Uncle *Sancho*, for no other fault,  
but because *Ferdinand* the Elder Brother died  
before him: to which I shall only add, that none  
of the Descendants of *Sancho* can possess that  
Crown with a good Conscience, till some satis-  
faction be made to the Representatives of the  
Family of the *Cerdæ*: but this is only to be un-  
derstood of the old Kingdom of *Castile*, nor of  
its Union with *Arragon* and its Dependencies,  
in some of whose Annexations, as great Flaws  
may be found, as in that of *Castile*, I mean *Na-  
varr* and *Naples*: of the former I have discours-  
ed already, and notice shall be taken of the lat-  
ter in a more convenient place: so that here  
I shall say no more of the perfidious Purchase  
thereof, but that it must be a bad Root which  
blasts the Branches, and a corrupt Fountain  
that poysons the Streams. Nor is it any Pa-  
radox to assert, that the Famous *Isabella*,  
Wife to *Ferdinand the Catholick*, who thus  
purchas'd *Navarr* and *Naples*, was for a time  
an Usurper of the Ancient *Castile* with all its  
Appannages; Since it really belonged to the  
Daughter of her Brother *Henry* the IVth.  
own'd by him as his only Child when she  
was Born and Baptiz'd, and recommended by  
that simple Prince, when he was a dying, to  
the Nobility as Heir of the Crown of *Spain*:  
as fervent a Declaration as some Princes af-  
terwards made in the like case. Yet that sly  
*Isabella*, as soon as her Brother was dead, being  
influenced by the more subtil head of *Ferdi-  
nand*, made such interest among the Nobility  
against her Neece, under pretence that her  
Mother was not chaste enough, that the poor  
Orphan



Orphan Lady was at last constrain'd to betake her self to the Sanctuary of a Nunnery, and dy'd a Maid; notwithstanding of all the endeavours of her Royal Relative, the King of Portugal: *For Might many times overcomes Right, and the Weakest goes to the Wall.*

Our next Transmigration shall be to the Northern Crowns, under which not only Sweden and Denmark, but also Russia and Poland, may be comprehended: I shall not speak of the Revolutions in the great Dutchy or vast Empire of Mosco, before they were rescu'd from the ignominious Slavery of the Tartars, there being many Usurpations amongst 'em since the Death of Theodore Son to the great Tyrant Joannes Basilides; for the said Theodore's Brother-in-Law nam'd Boris, under pretence of a Call from the People, (procur'd with such Cunning as did Richard the III. of England, and with the like Event) Murther'd Demetrius, the true Heir of the Crown; and by a Counterfeit Demetrius, was made to undergo the same Fate himself: but this new Usurper was most ingratefully slain by a Russian Nobleman, call'd Suiskius, whom Demetrius had formerly pardon'd, tho' guilty of Treason; which succedaneous Traytor was dethron'd by a new Pretender, calling himself also Demetrius, as if he alone had been the true younger Son of Joannes Basilides: but this second Impostor being slain by the Polanders, in hopes to get their young Prince Uladislaus chosen Emperor of Russia; the States of Mosco, having an antipathy at a Foreign Yoak, did unanimously chuse the Son of their Patriarch: in which Line it continues to this day, and ought not to be branded with



with Usurpation, since that Election was not made till the Royal Family was quite extinct.

Of this new Royal Family, is that Prince, who lately travers'd divers Provinces of *Europe*, and ought to be look'd upon as the Supreme Head of that State, his Brother not being inclin'd to an Active Life; yea, by his Activity, and Love to Letters and Arms, Civility and Travel, he is like to be much more Beneficial to his Subjects, if they are not very Indocil, than any of his Predecessors, by Banishing their Barbarity and Ignorance, and planting some measure of Civility and Knowledge among 'em: Yet what an *Ægyptian* Astrologer said to *Mark Antony*, as to his Contests with *Augustus Caesar*, even before they came to the Sword's Point, may be apply'd to this Czar of *Mosco*, in reference to that Young Hero the King of *Sweden*: That *Ægyptian*, observing, that in all manner of Sports and Exercises, those Rival Princes were concern'd in, for their mutual Diversion, *Augustus* still prevail'd; told *Antonius* plainly, *That his Fortune, which of it self was good and great, was altogether blemish'd and obscur'd by Caesar's*; and therefore advis'd him to remove as far from him as he could: For, said he, *thy Demon*, meaning the good Angel that attended him, *is afraid of his, and being Courageous and High when alone, becometh Fearful and Timorous when nigh to the other*. This is easily apply'd to the present King of *Sweden*, who having appear'd on the Stage so early, even in the 18 Year of his Age, like another *Alexander the Great*, or *Augustus Caesar*; and with so much Courage, Conduct and Success,

K

if



if he go on at this Rate, may become before he Die, *Carolo magno major*; provided he hearken not to the *Malus Genius* of *Europe*.

*Gustavus Eriscon*, was the Founder of the present Royal Family of *Sweden*, the History of whose Life, is copiously and elegantly writ by a late *French* Abbot, the more to be believed, in what he, a Papist, relates of a *Lutheran Hero*: but if all he says, to his Advantage, were true; he hath been one of the wisest Princes of his Age: Neither find I any Moral Blemish in him, unless his desire to bring in the Reformation of Religion, hath made some deformation in the Patrimony of the Church; for he cannot be justly tax'd for Usurpation, since he had the general Call, and Love of the People of *Sweden*, for breaking the most bloody Yoke that ever was wreath'd about their Necks: For tho' that Nation had been formerly too well acquainted with some Tyrants; yet they had never Experience of such a Presidious and Bloody one, as was *Christiern* the 11<sup>d</sup>, then King of *Denmark*, who also pretended some Title over *Sweden*: But 'tis no wonder, that the *Swedes* rejected him as a Stranger, with a craz'd Title, when his own Native Subjects of *Denmark* could not endure such a Monster of Nature, but drove him from them, and plac'd his Uncle on the Throne, who was a mild Prince, and Govern'd his People with great Moderation. As for the Kingdom of *Poland*, 'tis already declar'd, That in this Enquiry, I am not to meddle with Elective Principalities; and consequently, not with the *German* Empire; which, in comparison with the Old *Roman*, is but *magni nominis umbra*:  
I



I shall therefore say no more of *Poland*, but that He, who now sits at the Helm, having sold his Religion for a Transitory Crown, has good Reason to be afraid, that he shall speedily lose it, and what is infinitely more, one which is Eternal.

Let us in the last place, set Sail from the Continent to the famous Island of *Great Britain*, the biggest of any in *Europe*, and not much behind, even as to Dimension, the biggest that are yet well known in all the World; on which account, Pope *Urban* the II<sup>d</sup>. term'd St. *Anselm* of *Canterbury*, *Alterius orbis Papa*. The South Parts of it are most Fertile, and Wealthy, most Populous and of the largest Dimensions: But the Old *Britones* were very unhappy in being oppress'd by *Julius Caesar*, and the *Romans*, and the Reason why they were so easily Subdu'd is well given both by that Conqueror and *Tacitus*, *Dum pugnant singuli, pereunt universi*: And not being able to resist the frequent Incurfions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, when they were finally deserted by the *Romans*; yet in hopes of some Relief, they sent a lamentable Petition to the Gallant *Ætius*, complaining of their deplorable Circumstances (as \* *Gildas* gives an Account;) yet all in vain; for the *Romans* had enough to do to oppose the many Inundations of Barbarous Nations, at that time, upon the very Heart of their Empire. But the *Scots* and *Picts* having broke in upon them from the North Coasts, rather for Depredations than constant Possession, 'tis worth the while to observe, That never any Nation Attack'd 'em

\* *Ætius* ter Consuli, Germanicus Britannorum; repellunt Barbari ad mare, repellit mare ad Barbaros, inter hæc duo genera funerum aut Jugulamur aut mergimur.



with a design of Conquest, but at last prevailed.

For after the *Romans* abandon'd them, the *Saxons* were call'd in, as Auxiliaries, against the *Scots* and *Picts*, who were found such Unfaithful Trustees, that by Force and Fraud, they ruin'd their Constituents, having at a Treaty of Peace, most Perfidiously Murder'd 300 of the principal of 'em; so that the People without a Head were easily Subdu'd: *Vortigern*, their insignificant Head, being kept Prisoner by the *Saxons*, and being exceedingly Timorous, granted them whatever they desired. The *Danes* were the next who ascend'd this Stage of Usurpation, tho' very Proud and Insolent, and as great Infidels as the *Saxons*, yet not so Faithless; and if sometimes they violated their Promises, they had too much Ground to upbraid the *Saxons* with their Treacherous Murther of all their *Danish* Guests in one Night: But as soon as they quitted the Stage, the *Saxon* Blood, which was return'd *jure postliminii* being scarce warm in the Throne was tumbled down by the *Normans*: whose Usurpation hath already continu'd longer than both the former.

That *Edward the Confessor*, *Harald* and *William the Conqueror*, were all Usurpers; is already told: Let us now see what Interlopers were in the *Norman* Race: I begin with *Henry the Ist*, the Youngest Son of the Duke of *Normandy*; for tho' *William the Ild*, Surnam'd *Rufus*, was a Tyrant by Domination, yet not so by Usurpation, if it was true, that the Father Appointed him King of *England* after his Death, since it was his own Conquest; but *Robert Duke of Normandy*, unquestionably



questionably the Eldest Brother, heing absent in the *Holy-Land*, his Brother, Surnam'd *Beau-Clerk* made so bad use of his Knowledge, that he got Possession of the Crown of *England*, after the Death of *Rufus*, who had no Child, before his Brother's return : Some Historians Report, That the Crown of *Jerusalem* was proffer'd to him, before those Religious Heroes Voted it for *Godfrey*, Duke of *Lorrain* and *Bovillon* ; and from thence others infer That he was thus Treated by his Brother, for refusing to Reign over the most Glorious City upon Earth, which in Holy Scripture is call'd the *Holy City* : Tho' such was the Humility of Duke *Godfrey*, that he would never consent to receive a Crown of Gold, where the Saviour of the World had been Crown'd with Thorns. But sure I am, the said *Henry* was most Unjust to his Elder Brother, in Excluding him from the Crown of *England*, and by Intruding himself into his Dutchy of *Normandy* ; yea, by bereaving him of, what was more valuable than both, his two Eyes ; so that many concluded, when they heard that all his Posterity save *Maud* the Empress, had perish'd at Sea, that it was a just Judgment from God upon him, for being so Unnatural and Inhumane to his Elder Brother.

Yet neither *Maud* the Empress, for all her new Alliance with that Plantagenet, the Duke of *Anjou*, nor their Son *Henry* the IId, could ever get entire Possession of the Crown of *England*, so long as that new Interloper King *Stephen* liv'd ; whose Pretence to the Crown was weak, being only Grandchild to the Conqueror by his Mother ; yet that shadow of a



Right, was strongly fortify'd by the Affections of the People, because he was the first that releas'd the Tribute call'd *Dane-gilt*; or to give it a more honourable Term for the *Saxons*, that Annual Pension, *Ethelred*, that Ingenuous Prince, had condescended unto, to stop the Mouths of the *Danes* by such Golden Eloquence, that they might live as good Neighbours and Subjects in *England*. But it was strange, that when they ascended the Throne, it should have been continu'd; and yet more strange, that when the end of that slavish Imposition was totally ceas'd, it should have been exacted by the *Saxon* and *Norman* Kings, even to the Days of King *Stephen*. But the Apostle hath told us, *That the Love of Money, is the root of all Evil*. The continuation of which Exaction, so long out of due season, may mind us of some Popish Usurpations in too many Provinces of *Europe*; for which, in Protestant Countries, they were justly Abdicated; yet some of those Usurpations are continu'd as part of the Yearly, or casual *Intradoes* of some Princes to this Day. I only add that of the Poet.

*Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,  
———auri Sacra fames.———*

If we shall descend to the Degradation of that silly Prince, *Richard* the 1<sup>st</sup>. we will find three Usurpers successively in the House of *Lancaster*, usually term'd the *Red-rose*, viz. *Henry* the 4<sup>th</sup>, his Gallant Son *Henry* the 5<sup>th</sup>, and the simple Nephew, *Henry* the 6<sup>th</sup>: For tho' the first Duke of *York* was the Youngest of all the Sons of *Edward* the 3<sup>rd</sup>. yet



yet one of his Posterity being Lineally descended from *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, by his Daughter, they were in Law and Reason preferable to the Heirs of *John* of *Ghent*, who was but the 4th Son, the *Salick* Law having no place in *Britain*, among the Royal Families. As for *Richard* the III, tho' his Usurpation lasted only 3 Years; yet it was so notoriously Infamous for Inhumane and Unnatural Massacres of his nearest Relations, that I have an Aversion to insist upon it.

I shall therefore, last of all, take some notice of the lesser Kingdom of *Scotland*; which, for ought I find, cannot be justly Charg'd with any such Error in the first Concoction: For, abstracting from those, who build Castles in the Air over *Spain* and *Ægypt*, 'tis granted by all, that the Mountainous Parts of *Albion*, now call'd *Scotland*, were first Planted by a Colony immediately sent from *Ireland*; and cannot be call'd Usurpers, because they took Possession of *res vacua*, or a Country without Inhabitants, which in Law affords a good Title, as is above observ'd. Nor could it be term'd *res derelicta*, or a Country deserted by their ancient Neighbours, the *Picts*; for whether these came from *Scandia*, *Germany*, *Scythia*, or the South Parts of *Britain*, 'tis certain, they never Inhabited one Foot of Ground, North of the *Grampian* Mountains; and there it was that the *Scots* first settled.

It cannot be deny'd, that there were divers Interlopers in this Ancient Kingdom, since all the Historians agree in the Instances; but 'tis very observable, That there was never a complicated Usurpation there; I mean, they were all such singular Successors, that ne-



ver any Son succeeded his Usurping Father; so that as soon as these Usurping Tyrants were deservedly hurry'd out of the World, the Government return'd to the right Channel: And considering that the Royal Family of *Fergus* was set up very nigh to that first Plantation, 'tis a matter of Admiration, that those Interlopers were not more numerous, during such a long Interval, as 'twixt the *Æra* of that Plantation, and this present time. And tho' some, it seems, not well Instructed in the *Scottish* Antiquities, have taken upon them, in their Imaginations, hand over head, to lopp off no fewer than 39 of the ancient List of *Scottish* Kings; yet even from that imaginary Epochæ, so far distant from the former, it will be found, upon an exact Calculation, that *Scotland*, as to one and the same Royal Line, is the most Ancient Kingdom in *Europe*.

I hope, what is just now insinuated, may be further Explain'd, without offence. It cannot be deny'd, that some Reverend and Learned Men have been entangl'd in that Mistake, of mutilating the Old Royal Line of *Scotland*, since we find a Bishop of *St. Asaph* asserting it, and the late great *Stillington* offering to justify that Assertion; and I confess, where Truth hangs in *equilibrio*, Civility obligeth the Patron to maintain the Cause of his Client; especially, when the latter is a Bishop, and the other only a Priest; for *Stillington* was then no more; but tho' he was indeed an Ornament of his Age for Learning, yet *aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*: and as 'tis the sole Prerogative of Almighty God to be Omniscient, so there are many Things the Learn'dest among Men are unacquainted with, because they



they lie out of their way, and are little concern'd with 'em. And 'tis to be presum'd, that a Judicious Man, of very great Parts, is much better acquainted with the History of his own nation, than a Stranger; least he meet with that Reproach, *Qui Historiam suæ gentis ignorat, domi peregrinatur*. So that I suppose, all the several sorts of Arguments adduc'd by Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, late Lord Advocate of Scotland, a Gentleman universally Learn'd; for establishing the Antiquity of that Royal Family, cannot be Answer'd: Nay, if the true Sense of their own Authors had been Impartially consider'd; especially *Gildas Britannus*, *Gyraldus Cambrensis*, but above all; Venerable *Bede*; (not to speak of *Tacitus* in the Life of his Father-in-law *Julius Agricola*) I'm fully perswaded, those Reverend Gentlemen would have readily said, with the Roman Orator, *Non pudeat ad meliora transire*.

There is another Mistake, much of the same Nature, boldly Asserted by some, That the Scottish Kings were Tributary to the English: For which, they offer to produce, not a few Evidences in their *Archiva*. But upon a more serious Review of 'em, 'twill be found, that any Homage pay'd to England, was only for *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, or *Huntingdon*, when the Scots had a just Title to Possess any of those Countries. And, for the same Reason, it may be truly Asserted, That the English Kings were Homagers to the French, for *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Main* and *Aquitain*, or any Part they Possess'd of 'em. As for that Trick put upon *John Baliol* by *Edward* the 1st. of England; and on *Edward*



ward Baliol, by Edward the III<sup>d</sup>. I shall have occasion to say something afterwards. I shall only add, to this Argument, one Mistake more, which some *English* Writers are guilty of, especially *Peter Heylin*; and can hardly be vindicated from Malice: namely, That taking it for granted, that many *Scottish* Kings are Fictitious; yet from some of those *imaginary Beings*, he takes occasion to reproach the Nation for one of the most Barbarous and Luxurious Customs that ever was hatch'd by any People; which *vile Law*, (for no Sober Person can think otherways of it) is found among the Acts of some of those Casheer'd Kings, as Persons, who according to some, had never a Being; yea, they are very far up in that Cancell'd Catalogue, and but few removes from *Fergus* the Ist. So that if these Reproachers had minded the Philosophical Maxim, *Non entis nulla sunt accidentia*, they could not have been such Believers and Unbelievers, at once; for were the Law never so Barbarous and Voluptuous, it behov'd to proceed from one who had, sometime, Existence, and could never have been the fruit of a meer *Non-entity*.

I had almost forgot a great Objection, against the just Possession of all the *Scottish* Limits, taken from what is told by the *Scotch* Historians themselves, concerning the utter Extirpation of the *Pictish* Kingdom, which, unquestionably comprehended the best part of what is now term'd *Scotland*, as it is divided from *England* by the Rivers of *Tweed* and *Solway*. Some have justly apply'd to *O. Cromwel*, that deserved Reprehension of the Prophet to that Wicked King *Abab*, *Hast thou killed*



killed, and taken possession? Yet tho' that detestable Usurper did most Insolently Assassinate the Head, he did not destroy the Body Politick: But (say they) the more Insolent Scots, not only Usurp'd the *Pictish* Dominions, but also Massacred both King and People, and totally Exterminated that Ancient Nation. But where the Objection is founded, they will also find a well-grounded Solution, and that the Scots, in their Repitition of Right, Commenc'd a Lawful War, and the *Picts* had their own Folly to blame for their Ruin.

For the Famous *Scotish* King *Achaius*, who began that Ancient League with *France*, in the Days of *Charlemain*; having Marry'd the Sister of *Hungus*, King of the *Picts*, it was a chief Article of that Matrimonial Contract, That the *Pictish* Kingdom should fall to the Heirs of that Marriage, if *Hungus* dy'd without Children. He had indeed, two Sons, but the one having Murder'd the other, was shortly taken out of the World for that Fratricide: So that none of the *Pictish* Blood Royal remain'd, save the Scots King *Alpin*, the only Child of the Sister of K. *Hungus*, who having most justly Claim'd that Crown by Vertue of his Mother's Right, (for there was no *Salik* Law among these *Picts*) was so far from being answer'd in Reason, that they rais'd up a Hydra with many Heads; I mean, made choise of many new Kings, such Strangers to any Blood Royal, that some of'em were *à face populi*; and having got the righteous Heir at some disadvantage, they at last cut off that Head which had the just Title to Reign over them. His Son *Kenneth* the Ild. had good reason to resent two such notable Injuries, done to



• The place  
where the  
Scottish Kings  
have ever  
since been  
Inaugurated.

to his Father; which he did so effectually, that he was sufficiently aveng'd on that Unjust and Cruel Nation: Yet, even before their last defeat at \**Scone*, he offer'd 'em as much as Christianity oblig'd him; namely, to own them with the same Paternal Affection as he treated his other Subjects, provided, they would acknowledge him to be their King; which was the more Clement and Charitable, since he knew, they could not, without a Miracle, hold out against his much greater and more warlick Forces: Yet that Desperate People would not hearken to Reason, nor live Peaceably, after the greatest part of them, with the last of their Usurping Kings, were cut off in that last Battel; but made new Insurrections against such Garrisons as were plac'd among 'em, only to keep 'em Peaceable: So that I may end the Story of them, with that old famous Maxim, *Quos Jupiter vult perdere, illos dementat.*

I have insisted the longer on this 2d Property of *Heroick Fortitude*, in regard that Justice is the most Lucrative Vertue, for a Prince to gain the cordial Affection and Good-will of his Subjects. I now pass to the 3d, which I shall endeavour briefly to go thorough.

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The 3d. Property of Heroick Fortitude, is  
Prudence.

**P**rudence, *quasi procul videns*, or one, who sees afar off; which agrees with that of Solomon, *A wise Man hath his Eyes in his Head, but a Fool walketh in darkness*: the generality



nerality of Fools being Incircumspect, because destitute of Reflection and Fore-sight; nay, sometimes altogether void of Consideration, as to things present. But the truly Wise, especially such Princes, are fitly compar'd to *Janus* with his two Faces, looking both behind and before him; *Gyges's* Poetical Ring which render'd him invifible, is also an Emblem of solid Wisdom in a Prince, who fits, as it were, in the dark to all his Neighbours, but clearly discerns what is doing round about him.

As all the Affections of the Soul may be reduc'd to that of Love, and all Moral Vertues to that of Fortitude; so all Vertues Moral and Intellectual, may be reduc'd to that of Prudence, when the ordinary Definition of it is consider'd, *viz. Recta ratio agendorum*; without which Regulation, all Vertue degenerates into Vice, and Knowledge into Folly or Error; Nay, without such a Prudent management of one's self, Justice, even in a Prince, will degenerate into pernicious Cruelty, or hurtful Lenity; Temperance into Superstition; and Fortitude it self into Temerity; as *Seneca* usually term'd the successful Courage of *Alexander the Great*, *Fælix temeritas*. I shall therefore briefly point at divers Evidences of true Prudence in our *Generous Prince*, both in time of Peace and War; and if any shall please, in Charity to call them *Rules of Prudence*; yet I hope, instead of charging the Impertinency of *Phormio* upon the Pen-man, they will rather reckon him in the number of *Olitores*; at least, apply to him that of the Poet.



*Si desint vires tamen est Laudanda voluntas.*

May 9. 6.

I. EVIDENCE, *A Prudent Prince is ready to hearken to good Counsel.* It was often said of *Tiberius*, as a Reflection upon him, and by his own Father-in-law *Augustus*, That he never advis'd twice upon one Matter; tho' *δευτερι φερνιδες* are usually the best. And that it was Ironically said of *Lewis the XIth.* of France, That he carry'd all his Council about him upon one Horse, is observ'd by his great Servant *De Comines*; who apply'd it to both his great Masters; but with this difference, That the King of France had a good Head-piece of his own, if he had made the right use of it; but the Duke of Burgundy had more Sail than Ballast: And these two Rivals scarce accorded in any thing, save their Aver- sion from Counsel: Yet the Wisest Princes need not think it any Diminution from their Greatness, or that it derogates from their Sufficiency, to rely upon Counsel; since the *Eternal Wisdom of the Father* is pleas'd to be call'd *Wonderful Councillor*; and the Wisest of Mortal Kings, hath well concluded, That in Counsel, (meaning, no doubt, good Coun- sel) there is Stability. An Axiom, which his own Son did not wisely consider, having foo- lishly lost the best part of his Kingdom by giving ear to Counsel, which was the more remarkably bad, and to be guarded against, in that it was Young, for the Persons; and Violent for the Matter.

It is a very Sound Counsel of the same *So- lomon*, *With good Advice make War*, given to all



all Men; especially Sovereign Princes and States, whose Martial Engagements are usually of the greatest Concern; yet some haughty and hasty Princes falsely imagine, That to depend on any Advice in such Matters, weakens their Authority, and derogates from their Sufficiency and Conduct in the Art of War: But as a *Salvo* to their Honour, they may please to consider what was done in the Senate of *Sparta*, once as Warlike a State as any in the World: a Profligate Person having made a Proposal which all judged highly expedient for the Honour and Advantage of the Republick; yet it flowing from such a Naughty Man, they were averse to comply with it; therefore the *Ephori* privately order'd one of their own Number, who made the greatest Figure in the State, next Day, to Propose the same Thing in his own Name; and then it was unanimously hugg'd both by the *Ephori* and all the Senators.

The Application of this to Sovereign Princes, will further appear from the ensuing Poetical Story. *Jupiter having Marry'd the Goddess \* Metis, she conceiv'd and was with Child; but before she brought it forth, he eat her up, and thereby becoming himself Impregnate, he was deliver'd of Pallas arm'd, out of his Head:* Which monstrous Fable, contains a great Secret of Empire, or what Wise and Politick Use Kings should make of Councils. viz. by referring intricate Matters to their Council of State, to receive their first Conception and Impregnation; but when they are elaborated and sufficiently moulded and shap'd in the Womb of such a *Metis*, and ready to be brought forth, that, instead of suffering their

\* Which signifies Council.



their Council to go thorough with what is resolv'd upon, they take the Matter back into their own Hands, and give the final Directions, as if the whole, was the Issue of their own Brains, and not meerly the effect of their Authority : For *Pallas* Arm'd, imports Prudence as well as Power.

It is observable, That such unhappy Princes as would never hearken to good Counsel, did foolishly prostitute themselves to *Rehoboam's* Counsellors, who finally Flatter'd them to their utter Ruin : Such was *Seianus* to *Tiberius*, till succeeded by *Macro*; but *Narcissus*, was such to *Claudius* during the Life of that foolish Emperor; and so was *Tigillinus* to that Monster of Nature, *Nero*. I might also Instance the bad Counsel of *Petrus de Vineis* to the Emperor *Frederick* the Ild. and that *Italian* Count of *Campobasso* to *Charles the Warlike*; but their Ill-advice flow'd rather from Malice than Ignorance, as will be notic'd hereafter. But alas! we find too many Examples of such, who could not take Generous Counsel to themselves, nor give it to others: Such was *Peirce Gaveston* to that filly Prince *Edward* the Ild. of *England*; and after that Favourite was hurry'd off the Stage, the *Spencers* came in his room; not to mention other the like Instances. Yet I must not omit the just Judgment of God upon *Lewis* the XIth. of *France*, who in his younger Years, out of a fond Opinion of his own Sufficiency, despis'd all Generous Counsels; but in his Old-age turn'd such an *Hypochondriack*, that he entirely subjected himself to the Counsel and Conduct of his Physician, and was Rul'd by him, as a Slave by an Imperious Master;



Master; and tho' he often complain'd of his Fetters, and by one Word could have shaken them off; yet had not the Confidence to do it, because, forsooth, his Physician had assur'd him, he had the Key of his Life so in his Hand, that he could not possibly live a Month, if he was remov'd from him: For if we believe one who is most worthy of Credit, the Lord of *Argenton*, at that time the King's Servant, never was any Mortal more afraid to Dye than that wretched Prince.

As Princes should take Counsel concerning Matters, so also concerning Persons, the one without the other is to little purpose; for they are the happiest Princes, who know their Counsellors, as well as their Counsellors know them; *Principis est Virtus Maxima nosce suos*: And 'tis the true Composition of a good Counsellor, to be better skill'd in his Master's Business than his Nature; for then he will be sure to Advise him, and not to feed his Humour: And that with such Self-denial, as to prefer the Publick to his own Private Advantage. Such excellent Patriots and Publick Spirits were *Aristides* of *Athens*, *Epaminondas* of *Thebes*, *Cincinnatus* and *Fabritius* at *Rome*, with *Sir Francis Walsingham* Secretary to the Famous Queen *Elizabeth*; for tho' they were Employ'd in the Publick Ministry, the most part of their time, yet all of 'em Dy'd so Poor, that their own Goods, without the Charity and Justice of the State, could not afford them an honourable Interment.

A Self-seeking Counsellor, will not fail to feed the Prince's Humour, if he know his Inclinations before-hand; so that a King presiding in Council, would do well to be cau-

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tious in opening his Mind too much in the Matter under Consideration, least such Counsellors, instead of giving free Counsel, take the wind of him, and sing him a *Song of Placebo*. But it is yet more Imprudently done, when a Prince declares his Resolutions are unalterable, whatever Reasons the best of his Counsellors can offer in the contrary; for thus he treats them as an Actor on a Stage deals with his Spectators, whom he hath drawn together, not to contradict the Actors, but to give a *Plaudite* to what is Acted. Such a foolish Prince was *Perseus* of *Macedon*, the last of the Race of *Antigonius*; and King *James* the 4th of *Scotland* was little better, who would needs Fight the *English* at *Flodden*, contrary to the good Advice of the best of his Nobility, who gave unanswerable Reasons, Why, an Engagement at that time would certainly Ruin himself and his little Army: But these he repell'd with a pretended inviolable Resolution, he said, he had put on, to Fight them, how numerous soever; as they were indeed far above his number, and much better Train'd; *Henry* the VIIIth, having sent several thousands of his best Disciplin'd Soldiers out of *France* to stop that Inundation of the *Scots*, which was Foolishly begun, and Fatally ended, upon the account of the *French* Interest.

But if a Sagacious Prince has good Ground to suspect, that too many of his Council are Self-seekers; let him imitate that Excellent Prince *Alphonfus* of *Arragon*, in consulting his *muti Magistri*, his Books, after he has had recourse to that *Wonderful Counsellor* in Heaven: for Books will speak plain, when Coun-



Counsellors are found byas'd from the path of Honesty. It is therefore good to be Conversant in them; especially, of such as have been Actors themselves in the like Circumstances: Such as the Writings of *Julius Caesar*, *Augustus's* Commentaries, if extant, *Tacitus*, *Salust*, and the large Account given by *Titus Livius* of the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*; as also these *Greek* Historians, *Xenophon*, *Thucidides* and *Polybius*; all which, may be very Useful for Princes. Among those who may be term'd Modern in respect of the former, I reckon these most worthy of Perusal; viz. *Philip de Comines*, *Guicciardin* and *Gualdo Priorato*: and to know the Rise and Progress of *Black Rebellion*, under the Varnish of Religion, 'tis worth the while, to Peruse *M. de Avila*, and *M. Maimburg*, the *French* King's Historiographer, where that Infamous *Holy League* is Delineated at length; but more Impartially by the great Historian *Thuan*.

The general Histories of States, Empires and Kingdoms, if well Penn'd, are very Useful to all, who carefully Peruse 'em; but particular Histories, term'd *Lives*, are more profitable to Crown'd Heads; because there, if the Picture was sufficiently Drawn, they may see their fellow Grandees, as it were, *intus & incute*: Among all which, *Plutarch's* *Lives* deserve the Preheminence, both for Copiousness, and many Moral and Political Observations he hath well made on the Generality of 'em. Next to him *Suetonius's* 12 *Cæsars*, with the 8 describ'd by *Herodian*; as also the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, lately done by *Sir William Temple*; the History of

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*Henry the VIIth. of England*, by Sir Francis Bacon; of *Henry the VIIIth.* by the Lord Herbert; of *Queen Elizabeth* by Camden; and of the first five King *James's*, by W. Drummond: But above all, the Account of the Deeds and Sayings of *Alphonfus* King of *Arragon*, the first King of *Naples*, by *Antonius Panormita*, in 4 Books, with the Notable Observations of *Aeneas Sylvius* thereupon, afterwards Pope *Pius* the IId.

Next to Lives, such Treatises as go now under the Notion of *Memoirs* may be perus'd: Such as that of Marishal *Monluck*, Mr. *Melvil*, and Sir *W. Temple*; and if any desire to trace the *Long Parliament* *ἕως πόντος*, they will find a Journal, *usque ad Nauseam*, in Mr. *Whitlock's* great Volume, which he terms *Memoirs*. As for the Lord *Hollis's* *Memoirs*, tho' some have Satyrically apply'd to him that of the Poet,

*Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes.*

Yet having been once Ambassador for King *Charles* the IId, I shall not be so hard upon him: yet since he was one of the 5 Members that occasion'd so much Trouble to King *Charles* the Ist, I expected some Apology for the 5, before he had made such a large Vindication of the 11 that came afterwards on the Stage, whereof he was also one. *Ludlow's* *Memoirs* should not have had the Honour of Printing, since he owns it as an Honour, that he was one of the Assassins of his Sovereign, whose Person, being *the Lord's Anointed*, ought to have been *noli me tangere* to all the World, tho' he had been such a Tyrant



rant as *Salmasius* most foolishly and unjustly supposes him to be. There are also Publish'd the *Memoirs* of Mr. *Cock*, under the Notion of *Detection*, wherein he discovers a most virulent Nature, there being more Gall than Ink in his Pen: yet I cannot but applaud one Paragraph, where he justly taxeth the Long Parliament, for that sharp Declaration wherewith they accosted King *Charles* the 1st. immediately after his Return from *Scotland*, An. 1641. upbraiding him with the illegal Tax of *Ship-money*, the *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Commission*: When all such Grievances, saith he, had been rectify'd before his departure. So that they should have sisted there, and rejoyc'd in their King, who as a true State-Physician, was ready to remedy all the Maladies represented to him by the Great Council of the Nation.

There is another Treatise, entituled *The Memoirs of Dr. Welwood*, writ with more Candour and Moderation, and in a more Elegant Style; where the Author makes a Detection, of what was unknown for more than half an Age, The fatal Cause, Why, the Treaty at *Uxbridge* was so unexpectedly frustrated; viz. An unlucky Letter from the Great *Montross*, which came to the King's Hand, the Night immediately preceeding that Day, wherein a general Peace was look'd for by all Parties; as *Sanderfon* testifies in the History of the King's Life: and tho' he was his Menial Servant, he declares, That none about the Court could divine, what had so suddenly altered the King's Mind. He also unriddles another Mystery concerning the *Powder-Plot*; I have heard long ago, That

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King *James*, had notice of that most Pernicious Design before the Letter came to my Lord *Monteagle*, but that *Henry* the 4th. of *France* gave the Information, was not known till now: And if the Bigotted Papists contriv'd his Death on that account, that Plot hath been long in ripening, for *Henry le Grand* liv'd 5 Years beyond that design'd Massacre.

But without all peradventure, such *Memoirs* as are Penn'd by Princes, Ministers of State, or any who have made a great Figure in the World for Martial Conduct, are fittest for Princes: Such as those of the said *Henry* the IVth, Cardinal *Richlieu*, Cardinal *Mazarine*, and the Gallant Duke of *Roan*; nay, the larger *Manifesto* of King *Charles* the Ist, with his ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, may be pertinently term'd his *Memoirs*, the last most Excellent little Treatise, being so like to the inimitable Style of that Unfortunate Prince in all his Publick Declarations and Remonstrances, that there is infinite Reason to ascribe it entirely to that *Royal Pen*, whatever a *Zoilus* or a *Momus* have said to the contrary. But above all the former Historical Accounts, the exact knowledge of his own Country, which he is to Govern, is most Necessary and Profitable for a *Generous Prince*: For I take it for granted, That his Country is not so Barbarous, as not to afford one Judicious and Impartial Historian, who hath Faithfully given an Account of the Transactions of that Nation from its first Plantation. To be a Stranger at Home, by being grossly ignorant of the History of his own Nation, is a blemish upon every ordinary Subject, but the Stain is indelible



lible upon the Memory of a Sovereign Prince, as if the Effects and Efforts of what is call'd *his Government*, were like to a *Blind Man's throwing his Staff*. A Merchant may be Prudent enough, tho' he makes no Enquiry about those remote Coasts, where he has no Design, neither for himself nor his Effects; but he cannot be reckon'd Wise, who does not seasonably inform himself of all the hazardous Rocks, Shelves or Whirl-pools in the way to that Port where he intends to Trade, be which some of his Neighbours have formerly suffer'd Shipwreck; and if there be any *Beacons* whereby to direct a safe Course in the Night-season: Just so, a Wise Prince will not fail seasonably to Inform himself of all the Rocks and Shelves in Government, on which his Predecessors have run the hazard of Splitting, that so he may carefully avoid 'em, and hold the Helm so steadily, as to steer a safe Course betwixt *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and ride securely, all his Days, at Anchor nigh to a calm Shoar.

There is one Particular ought to be added to this matter of Royal Counsels, That a *Generous Prince* is not oblig'd to follow the Opinion of any, or all, of his Counsellors with Implicit Faith: For this Privy-Council is not a compleat Judicature wherein Matters are carried by plurality of Votes, as in the Conclave at *Rome*, he is sure to be Pope, who hath the two parts of the Cardinals on his side: but in this Royal Court, when a Prince Adviseth with it, upon weighty Affairs, the Suffrages are to be weigh'd, and not numbred: Thus even they, who are only for a *Limited Monarchy*, do readily grant,



the King hath always a *Negative Vote* in the Great Council of the Nation, and much rather should he have such a Tribunitial Power in that Lesser Council, which is ordinarily of his own choosing. When therefore the Sentiments of the Prince, and those of his Counsellors interfere, they are bound to give such Convincing Arguments, as may plainly preponderate his Reasons; but if they are found to be in *æquilibrio*, good Manners should persuade such Counsellors to give Place to their *Betters*.

There is a great difference 'twixt Intellectual and Bodily Force, *Ne Hercules contra duos*, is to be understood of two that were equal to him in strength of Body, and many, who are separately weaker, if they combine together, by their united Bodily Strength, may overcome a *Sampson*, a *Milo*, a *Hercules*, or any other Giant, even *Og* the King of *Bashan*, himself, tho' the greatest of any, for whom we have infallible Record: But as to Intellectual Strength, the Case is far otherways; for in the Society of a 100 or a 1000, the mature Advice of one Profound Judgment, ought to preponderate the Opinion of all the rest, if of a shallow Reach. So that if a Prince is really a *Saul among the People*, as to his Intellectuals, at least, far above his present Counsellors, I see no Reason, Why, his Reason should stoop to their Opinions; unless they can make it appear, That they have more convincing Arguments on their side: 'Tis true, it was an usual Saying of that Excellent Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, the Philosopher, That it was more reasonable, the Sentiment of one Man, tho' a Sovereign



raign Prince, should yield to the Judgment of many Counsellors, than that they all should stoop to one; but this is to be understood, when they are all equal, tho' not in Dignity, at least in Judgment.

This calls to my remembrance, an Infirmary King *Charles* the 1st, was justly taxed with, even by his best Friends, which may be termed a very *Singular one*, it being rarely to be found among Princes, or any who are call'd Christians; namely, a *preposterous Humility*, or a *hurtful Self-denyal*, whereby he suffer'd his own stronger Reason to be often over-born, and fatally overcome to the prejudice of his Affairs; because his Counsellors would have it so: But whether their destructive Counsels flow'd from Error and Ignorance, which is the most charitable Construction; or from what is much worse, Knavery and Treachery; I cannot determine. But 'tis evident to all Un-biass'd Considering Persons, that it was very Ill-advice to persuade him, against his own Mind and Reason, to linger about *Glocester*, when he should have March'd directly to *London*; and again to loyter in the *West*, after the total Defeat of the Earl of *Essex's* Army in *Cornwal*: for if either first or last he had speedily advanc'd to that Capital City, in all probability, he might have pull'd up by the Roots, that *Implacable Faction* in his Parliament, before their *Dear Brethren the Scots* could have come up for their Relief: I call it an *Implacable Faction* in the Parliament, being fully persuaded, that at the beginning of that Fatal Assembly, many in both Houses had no other Design, but the security of their Holy Religion, and the Legal establishing of the



the Royal Prerogative, as well as the Privileges and Properties of the People, on sure and lasting Foundations; but those good Patriots were out-voted, and out-waked, by those, who were as vigilant as Dragons in promoting Mischief, and at last over-awed by a Tumultuous City, and over-power'd by a Rebellious Army.

From these Premises 'tis easy to inferre, That he is a Happy Prince, who hath good Counsellors, and is always ready to comply with good Advice; without the latter, the former part of the Proposition is only a Solemn Attestation of the greater Folly and Infelicity. *Rehoboam* had, no doubt, Wise Counsellors, by his Father's Election, appointed for him, or they have been very Indocil under so Knowing a Master; yet, following the ridiculous Advice of Young ones, as great Fools as himself, he lost ten Tribes for lack of one single Complement. It is granted by all, That the Famous Queen *Elizabeth*, was very happy in her Councils: But that Virulent Scribler *Sanders*, and some others, have confidently averred, That in her, the old Proverb was verify'd, *Better be Happy than Wise*; insinuating, that she fell at first, by meer Chance, into the Hands of good Counsellors, such as *Cecill*, the Lord *Burley*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham*, who might have been *Treasurers* and *Secretaries* to the greatest Monarchs upon Earth: Yet all Unbias'd Persons, who duly consider how steadily she manag'd the Helm, almost as long as did *Augustus Cesar*, will readily conclude, It was no small sign of her Prudence, to choose such Counsellors, and to follow their Advice. But it cannot be deny'd,



ny'd, and Experience may teach us, That in Things of this nature there is a great Hand of Providence, which a *Pagan* would term meer *Chance* or *Fortune*; it being sometimes obvious to every Observer, That two *Contemporary Princes*, on the same Level as to Natural Parts and Infirmities, both of 'em Credulous and easily impos'd upon; yet the one, by falling luckily into the Hands of Wise, Stay'd and Experienc'd Counsellors, made a considerable Figure in the World; which the other did not, by being unhappily engag'd with Young, Hasty, and Violent Counsellors: And if we suppose the Scene to have been shifted *vice versa*, perhaps the Prosperous Monarch would have been Miserable, and the Unfortunate Prince sufficiently Happy.

The II. EVIDENCE of Prudence in a *Generous Prince*, is, *solicitously to Examine, if what is represented by his Council as good for the State, is Just and Honest, as well as Profitable*: For tho' we are plainly assur'd in Holy Scripture, that we can find *no Profit in those Things whereof we shall be one Day asham'd*; Yea, a *Pagan Stoick Philosopher* would tell us, *That Things Honest and Profitable are so reciprocal, that whatever is Honest, is certainly Profitable; and nothing can be really Profitable, but what is truly Just and Honest*: Yet, alas! Experience sufficiently informs us, That too many Princes and States, as well as meaner Persons, too readily carry on Designs apparently Dishonest and Unjust, because they seem to be Lucrative. Thus, as is before observ'd, the *Romans* by this prevailing Motive of worldly Advantage, were induc'd  
to



to assist the *Mammertines*, tho' such unworthy Wretches, that no Honest Man should have had any the least Conversation with them.

But *Themistocles* found the *Athenian* State in a better Humour; for having told them, in the general, of a Project, which, if seasonably put in Execution, would render them the greatest State in the World; but which could not be divulg'd till it took effect, because the untimely airing of it, would certainly defeat the Design: They answer'd, *That if it was Just as well as Profitable, they were bound to comply with it*; and to know that, they unanimously referr'd him to *Aristides*, so good a Man, that it was usually said of him, *The Sun will sooner deviate from the Ecliptick Line, than he from the Path of Justice*: The Project was, to Burn, in one Night, the whole *Lacedemonian* Fleet in their Harbours, whereby the *Athenians* could not fail to become Masters of the Sea, and consequently of all *Greece*: *Aristides* told *Themistocles* In private, *That since they were then at Peace with the Spartans, the long-lasting Peloponnesian War not being begun, What he propos'd was very unjust*; and in publick told the People, *That the Project, if put in practice, might be Profitable to their State, but could not be reconcil'd to Honesty*: Whereupon, he was order'd to desist. But such Projects must be very unaccountable, that are neither Honest nor Profitable: Such was that Inhumane Resolution of *Justinian* the 2d, Emperor in the East, who, tho' depriv'd of the Natural Organ of Breathing, was still breathing Cruelties against his Subjects, which came at last to that height, that he Order'd the Captain of his Guard, to destroy in one Night,

all



all the People of *Constantinople*, and to begin at the Patriarch; as if he intended to make practicable on *New Rome*, what *Caligula*, such another *Mad-Cap*, wish'd in reference to the *Old*; That *all the Romans had but one Neck*, that with one Blow he might cut it off.

I shall shut up this Point with a Notable Observation of some Historians, That Princes who Commence an Unjust War, meerly from the Principles of Ambition, Avarice, or Vanity, are usually Unfortunate in the Event, and it often proves Fatal to the Undertakers: For which, the Old Greek Historians instance *Semiramis*, against the *Indians*; the Grand *Cyrus*, against the *Massagets*; *Darius Hystaspes*, against the *Scythians*; and *Xerxes*, against the *Greeks*: Nor must we forget the foolish and unhappy attempt of *Charles Duke of Burgundy* upon the *Swissers*, whose Provocation amounted to no more than a Horse-load of Sheep-skins, robb'd from one in his County by some *Swissers*; and tho' all reasonable Satisfaction was offer'd, which so Poor a State was capable to make, having told him by their Ambassadors, That the *Spurrs and Bridle-bits of his Army were of more value, than all the Money among them*: Yet so infatuated was that Hair-brain'd Duke, that after he was once and again worsted by those Fierce Mountaneers, he could not rest, till his restless Spirit was driven out of his Body by a fatal Stroak at *Nancy*: Whereby that old mysterious Maxim was verify'd upon the *Swissers*, *Serpens, si non devoraverit Serpentem, non fit Draco*; for before that time, they had made no Figure in the World, except the Recovery of their Liberties from the

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the Tyranny of the House of *Austria*. But the Wise *Augustus Caesar* was still so Prudent and Candid in his Conduct, that he never undertook a War without a Just and Necessary Cause; it being his usual Saying, That *it argu'd a vain Nature, to hazard the Lives and Fortunes of his Citizens for a Lawrel Crown, or the Pageantry of a Triumphal Pomp.*

It was the Observation of some Astrologers upon his Birth, That he would prove a Great and Wise Prince; because they found *Capricorn* in his Ascendant; as was afterward observ'd at the Nativities of *Vespasian*, *Charles the Vth*, and that *Wit of Italy*, *Cosmo* the great Duke of *Florence*; but be that as it will, 'tis most certain, this Great Emperor gave a great Demonstration of Wisdom in observing, so Religiously, the Old Land-marks of the *Roman Empire*; viz. *Euphrates* to the East, the Ocean to the West, the *Danaw* and *Rhine* to the North; for as he took little notice of any Conquest his Adoptive Father had made in *Britain*, so he frequently minded the *Romans* of what Fatality attended *Marcus Crassus* for making a foolish Progress in the East, to satisfy his Ambition, or rather Avarice; And as the *Persians*, said he, still found it fatal when they cross'd the *Hellespont*, so the *Romans* will find their Attempts beyond *Euphrates* unsuccessful in the end. In which, he was a true Prophet; for besides the Experience of *Mark Antony*, in his own time, the fruitless Expeditions of *Trajan*, *Aurelianus*, *Probus*, *Carrius* and *Julian the Apostate*; did afterwards sufficiently verify the Truth of that Prediction. Nay, this most Prudent Prince, did frequently deride the Folly of *Alexander*  
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the Great, who, when very Young, lamented that his Father, by Conquering so much, would leave nothing for him to do : *As if, said Augustus, it had not been a harder Task to Govern one Kingdom well, than to Conquer many : According to that of the Poet :*

*Non minor est virtus, quam quærere, parta  
tueri.*

I end this Particular with the Noble Saying of that Famous Roman, *Metellus Pius*, That to do Evil was too easy a thing, to do Good without Danger, was also a common Matter; but to do well with Danger, was the part of an Honest and Vertuous Man.

The III. EVIDENCE, of Prudence in a Generous Prince, is, *After a thorough Conviction of the Justice of his Cause, to provide seasonably all Lawful Means, for the recovery of his Right; which in Reason may be reckon'd sufficient to accomplish that End.* The Means are ours, but the Event is God's; and He being Infinite in Goodness, Wisdom and Power, it is the Duty of all, in the use of Lawful Means, to wait for such an Issue, as by his Blessing, He is pleas'd to order in his Unerring Providence. *A good Man, saith the Psalmist, will guide his Affairs with Discretion;* and consequently, a Good and Wise Prince, in the Justest Cause, even the Repetition of Right unquestionably belonging to him, if the Means be wanting or weak for carrying on his Design, will suspend the Prosecution of it, till Providence offer a fitter Opportunity; well knowing, That 'tis sinful to tempt God by seeking after an extraordinary Demonstration



stration of the Divine Goodness, Wisdom and Power, if ordinary Means can be made use of. For thus a meer Pagan justly derided a Man, who having fallen into a Quag-mire, still cry'd to *Jupiter* to help him out, without any struggling of his own; *Thou Fool*, said that Passenger, *help thy self, and thy God will not be wanting.*

Luke 14 31,  
32.

This Prudential Rule is expressly prescrib'd by that *Wonderful Counsellor*, the Eternal and Essential Wisdom of the Father; *What King*, saith he, *going to make War against another King, sitteth not down first, and consulteth, Whether he be able to meet him, that cometh against him with Twenty thousand; or else while he is yet a great way off, he sendeth an Ambassage, and desireth Conditions of Peace:* Which Words, are not to be understood meerly of the inequality of Numbers, but also of Strength, Courage and Conduct; for Experience abundantly testifies, That a well Train'd little Army, compos'd mostly of Valourous Men, hath easily Defeated more numerous Forces, if destitute of Courage and Conduct: The three great Victories of *Alexander* over *Darius*, is a sufficient evidence of this; for the Army of the former when he cross'd the *Hellepont*, was not above 40000, Horse and Foot; whereas the *Persian* Army at *Granick* was, at least, treble that number, which was, doubled, if not Quadupled at *Issus*, when that *May-game* King advanced in Person with all his Wives, Daughters and Concubines, as if he had been to make some Solemn Procession, or Triumphal Cavalcade; and at *Arbela* or *Gangamela*, he had at least, a Million of Men, if such Cowardly, Effeminate *Asiaticks* may



may be so term'd, having still run away from *Alexander*, as a Flock of Sheep from a Mastiff Dog; which minds me of the Saying of a Philosopher, *That a Lion, a Tyger, a Wolfe, or a fierce Mastiff, are not concern'd to consider how numerous the Flock is; but only to find out the place where they are a Grazing.*

We have a pregnant Instance to this Purpose in Sacred Story, which I the rather take notice of, not only for the Certainty of it, but also upon the account of the vast number slain on one side, beyond what can be found in any Human History; namely, that the Army of *Abijah* King of *Judah*, consisting of 400000, <sup>2 Chron. 13.</sup> discomfited that of *Jeroboam*, which was double the number, of which no fewer than 500000 were kill'd. *Semiramis* and *Xerxes* had, indeed, vast Armies; and were Routed too; the first by the *Indians*, and the other by the *Greeks*; not to speak of the *Cimbri* against *Marius*; the *Huns*, against *Ætius*; and the *Moors*, against *Charles Martel*: But *Abijah* had a better Cause and Conscience than that Apostate *Jeroboam*. So had the Brother of that Usurper in *Africk*, in the Days of the Emperor *Honorius*; who being Commissionated from his Prince, only with 5000, destroyed his Brother's Army, tho' above 60000, and most justly kill'd the Usurper, because he had Murder'd all the Pursuers Children, meerly because he would not joyn in Rebellion with him: yet the prevailing Brother made a bad use of his good Success; for he afterwards became a Rebel, and had as bad Fortune in the end, as his Rebellious Brother.

But the Story of that great Defeat given by  
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the little Army of *Lucullus* the Roman General, to the vast multitudes assembled by *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, is *instar omnium*: ten or twelve thousand Foot and Horse was the total of *Lucullus's* Army; whereas the *Armenians* exceeded 200000, of which, 55000 were *Cuirassiers*, or arm'd *Cap-a-pe*; so that they were at least 20 to 1: and before we mention the Event, 'twill be pleasant to give some account of the Vanity of that Barbarous King, who would be call'd King of Kings: he had, indeed, many Tributary Princes under him, four of which, were so slavishly Submissive, that like so many Foot-boys, they waited on his Stirrup: the rest of them, when they saw *Lucullus's* little Army, came successively to their Lord and Master, and desir'd the Honour of leading the Van against that foolish Consul, not thinking, that he would stay till they came at him; yea, *Tigranes* himself would needs also break his Jest in that merry Hour, by saying, That *the Romans were too many to be Ambassadors, and too few to be an Army*: yet few as they were, in few Minutes, they made those Dastardly *Asiatics* take them to their Heels, and kill'd above 100000 of 'em, without the loss of a Dozen of their own Men; insomuch, that as *Livie* tells us, *The Romans were asham'd of having drawn their Swords against such a Cowardly Crew*: And had they known beforehand, what Men they had to deal with, 'tis likely, they would have made use only of their Whips, as the *Scythians* did against that Army of Slaves, who had the Boldness to pursue their old Masters: And 'twas no wonder, that *Julius Cesar*, having in less than a quar-



quarter of an Hour totally subdu'd the numerous Army of the Young King of *Pontus*, cry'd out, *How easily did Pompey attain the Epithet of Great?* alluding to that Order which *Pompey* procur'd from the Senate to go against the Father-in-law and Son, I mean, *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*; that he might rob *Lucullus* of the Glory of his Victories; tho' in effect he only gather'd up the Reversions of that *Roman* Consul; whatever Reports pass at *Rome* of his Subduing many Nations in *Asia*, for which he was highly magnify'd by the Common People: but it was really *Sylla*, who gave him that Title of *Great*, long before this last Expedition.

It it be said, That our Saviour's Advice, in the above-cited Passage, to make a reasonable Agreement with a more powerful Invading Enemy, concerns rather the Repulsing of Injuries, than the Repetition of Right; yet if it was rightly consider'd, this rather strengthens than weakens this Prudential Rule: for in the Repetition of Right, a Prince may be said to have *the Haft and Blade so in his own Hand*, that, in a manner, he is Master of the Warlike Design, and therefore should not engage till he is, at least morally, certain of his Ability to go through with it: But in a Defensive War, he is under a necessity to Defend himself the best way he can; and it often falls out, especially, when the Invasion is Unjust, that Parity produceth Vigilancy; whereas great numbers render the whole Host Secure, Careless and Rash; and consequently, an easy Prey to the smaller number. Thus it far'd with the *French* at *Cressy*, *Poitiers*, and *Agincourt*;



and with the *English* at *Bannockburn*. As for Instances directly contrary to this Prudential Rule, many might be given, even of Princes, who unnecessarily and inconsiderately engag'd in an Offensive War, when they were not *pa-res Negotio*; and as a just Reward of their Temerity, came off, or rather became despicable Stragglers, with much Shame and great Loss: but for Brevities sake, I only take notice of two or three deplorable Examples of egregious Folly in some Head-strong Princes.

Page. 146.

I have already mention'd the unaccountable Resolution of King *James* the 4th at *Flodden*, but gave not a plain Account of the Impulsive Cause, *viz.* the secret Influence of the *French*, who employ'd the poor *Scots* as Leeches to draw Blood from the *Hæmorrhoid* Veins of their Enemies; or as the Ape makes use of the Cat's Foot to pull the Chesnut out of the Fire; so that divers of their Precipitant Kings were taken Prisoners, and Ransom'd at dear Rates; and some lost their Lives for those *French* Quarrels: In a Word, I am yet to learn, what the *Scots* gain'd by that ancient League 'twixt King *Achilles* and *Charlemaign*; but sure I am, they lost many Leggs and Arms, and Heads too, upon that account. In the same Age, another Young Prince ruin'd himself and his Army, as wilfully and foolishly as did the said King *James*; namely, *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, who would not give ear to his old Experenc'd Captains, when they told him, *It was the height of Folly to engage against Solyman the Magnificent, whose Army was more numerous, and better Disciplin'd; the stout Janizaries being more accustomed to fight and overcome than his raw Soldiers.* Neither did



did *Solyman* Insult and Tyrannize before Victory, like to that Vain *Armenian* Prince; but regretted before-hand, that so young a Prince should so desperately run his Head against a Wall; whose Ruin he might easily foresee without the Spirit of Prophecy: and to give that *Grand Seignour* his due, he was the most Generous Prince of the whole *Ottoman* Race, whether before or after him.

As another Violation of this Rule, I have here a fair occasion to take some notice of the Imprudent Conduct of our King *James* the VIth of *Scotland* and Ist. of *England*, who, tho' by some term'd, *the Solomon of his Age*, yet, as was said of \* *Alphonso* the Vth, of *Castile*, *Was more Knowing than Wise*, for all his *King-craft*: He was indeed, much dissatisfy'd with his Son-in-law, for accepting of the Crown of *Bohemia*, in which he was so hasty, that he would not wait for a return from his Father-in-law, tho' he sent to Consult him in it: for not to speak of the Justice of his New Title, King *James* truly divin'd, that the *Palsgrave* had neither Head nor Hand for so great an Undertaking; and did frequently approve the Answer of the Duke of *Saxony*, who said, when that Crown was offer'd to him, *I will have no King but Cæsar*. But when the *Spaniards* with their Accomplish'd General *Spinola*, seiz'd upon the Lower *Palatinate*, (where was the Jointure of his Daughter) the Father thought, he was oblig'd to bestir himself in her behalf; and who can blame such a Natural Concern for an only Daughter? But herein he was blame-worthy, That the Methods he took for that Recovery, were so very mean, silly, and contemptible, that they

\* By whose Authority the Famous *Tabula Alphonfina* were pean'd.



Link. 14. 28,  
29, 30.

were altogether disproportion'd to the attaining of such an End : So that it had been more honourable for him, and his Kingdom, to have observ'd an exact Neutrality, than to have made such a trifling meddling, below that of the Satyrist, *magno conatu nugas*. And tho' many apply'd to him, what is said of the foolish Builder in the fore-cited Chapter ; yet some Historians observe, That he spent more Money on vain and fruitless Embassies to the Emperor and King of *Spain*, than might have conveniently pay'd a considerable Army : which I am the more apt to believe, when 'tis consider'd what great Retinues those Ambassadors had with 'em, and that the Earl of *Carlisle* was now and then Imploy'd as Head of them : but that this seeming Pacifick, but ludifying method, was the effect of *Gondamor's* sly Suggestions, needs not be doubted, if we reflect upon many other Abuses, which that *Spanish* Ambassador was guilty of, towards a too credulous Old King ; of which perhaps, more hereafter.

The IVth EVIDENCE of Prudence, is to be found in that celebrated Sentence of *Salust*, to this purpose, *After mature Deliberation, manage that just Design which is resolv'd upon, with due Secrecy and Celerity* : The former Qualification is so necessary, both in Peace and War, that many good and great Designs, by being unseasonably *Air'd*, have been irreparably marr'd ; especially some well contriv'd Martial Stratagems : It was therefore wisely said by that Noble Roman General *Metellus*, That if he thought, his *Servant* knew his Designs, he would throw it into the Fire : And thus the Subtil *Hannibal* carry'd on many Destructive  
Strata-



Stratagems against the *Romans*, by an admirable Clofeness, till the very nick of Execution. Nay, *Antigonus the Great*, was such a reserv'd General, that when his Son King *Demetrius*, one Day, demanded, and privately too, when he would order his Army to March; *What*, said the Haughty Father, *are you become so thick of hearing, that you are afraid not to hear the sound of the Trumpet.*

I confefs a Monarch, whose Army entirely consists of his own Vassals, Subjects and Mercenaries, has in this respect, a great Advantage over a Confederate Army; for that Sovereign and Sole General may lock up his greatest Designs, as in a Cabinet whereof he alone keeps the Key, till the same be unlock'd, at the very minute of Execution; because they are all Subordinate to him, and ready to execute *the Word of Command*, whensoever it pleaseth him to give it: but when there is a Co-ordination among many Princes, who think themselves equal in Dignity, Power and Interest, there must be a Communication of Counsels; otherways they cannot be long United, even when they have made choice of one to bear the Title of *General of the Army*, and *Head of the Confederacy*; which Principal Head would soon be abandon'd, if the *Hydra* was not previously acquainted with his most important Designs: whereby, their most secret Counsels become, too often, the common Talk of their own, and the opposite Army.

This great Inconveniency, helped to ruin the *Smalcaldick Confederacy*; beside the bad understanding betwixt its Principal Heads, viz. *Saxony* and the *Landgrave of Hesse*:



whereas their great Antagonist *Charles* the Vth, was the *Prora* and *Puppis* of all his Martial Contrivances against 'em: yea, he was so far from acquainting those, call'd his Confederates in that War, with his Designs, that he Hypocris'd both with Papists and Protestants; for he made the Pope believe, It was only Zeal for Religion, which prompted him to undertake that War, that he might compel the Protestants to submit to the holy Council of *Trent*, which had been Assembled in the Year immediately preceding; and thus he squeez'd both Men and Money from Pope *Paul* the III<sup>d</sup>. But when he came to deal with the Protestants, such as the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, and that Sly *Maurice*, afterwards Duke of *Saxony*, he assur'd them, That Religion had not the least Concern in that War, and that it was Commenc'd only to Chastise those Princes and States, whether Imperial Cities, or *Hanse-Towns*, for violating the Laws of the Empire. Nay, we have a nigher Instance, both as to Time and Place; namely, of the late Famous Confederate Army in *Low Germany*, whose well laid Designs being divulg'd to the *French* General, by some *brib'd Traytors* amongst themselves, instead of an expected glorious Victory, it was a great Providence the Confederates were not entirely ruin'd: And that some had been such *Blabs of their Tongues* as to communicate these Designs to their Servants, was abundantly notorious from that Ignominious Death, which after that Engagement, was justly inflicted on those Treacherous Villains.

It was an usual Saying of that Subtil Prince *Philip* of *Macedon*, That he never despair'd to  
gain



gain the most Impregnable Fortrefs, if it had so wide a Gate as to suffer an Ass loaded with Gold to enter in: Which is indeed the Sence, the best Mythologists put upon that Poetical Fable of *Jupiter's* falling into *Danae's* Lap in a Shower of Gold; meaning, That the Keepers of that Brazen Tower were corrupted with a great Sum of Money, to let in the Ravisher: On which account, in my Opinion, Masters are more to blame for discovering their Secrets to their Servants, than are those Mercenary Slaves for divulging them; for the former should have a deep sense of Honour and Interest; whereas the latter are usually many removes both from Honour and Conscience: Nay, suppose a Servant keeps his Hands clean from Bribes, and never design'd to betray his Master to an Enemy; yet 'tis rare to find any of those fervile Heads free from Vanity; out of which Principle, they are apt to divulge their Master's Secrets, not for any Ill-will, but to shew how much they are honour'd, in being such intimate Privado's to so great a Man, who judges them capable of State Matters. *Howel* in his *Vocal Forest*, tells us, "That one of his *Rational Trees*, was so prodigal of his Thoughts, that he imparted to the Servant, who pull'd off his Shoes at Night, the most important Affairs which had been that Day Agitated in his Privy-Council. He calls him indeed, a good Prince; but sure he makes a bad Reflection on his Judgment, when he fancies he transform'd his *Shoe-holder* into a *Book-holder*, or *Clerk-Register*. But this I look upon as a Malicious Romance, and therefore let it pass among the Castles in the Air.

Yet



Yet the *Asiatick* Histories afford Instances enough of Princes, whose Councils were almost wholly compos'd of those Menial Servants call'd *Eunuchs*, who were often found very Faithful and Useful to their Prince: for tho' 'tis rare to find Men of such Valour in that amphibious Sect, as was *Narses* and *Sinan Basha*; yet the cold Wit of many of 'em render'd them Solid and Deliberate Counsellors: But the greatest Inducement of Wise Princes to make them their greatest Confidants, was, their being more disinterested from the World than other Men; so that they were found to espouse the sole Interest of their Masters, to the utmost of their Endeavours; there being no ground to fear, that any lying in their Bosoms, would scrue from them, their Master's Secrets, as too many Wives have done from their Husbands: Which minds me of the Apology, some *Roman* Historians make for the too frequent Adulteries of *Augustus Caesar*, and a very Carnal one too; For, say they, *it was not from a principle of Lust, but out of State-Policy, that he Convers'd with the Senatours Wives, that he might have opportunity to expiscate from them their Husbands Secrets.* Which Practice, how Wicked soever, is an indication, That Curiosity and Futility were accounted the great Imperfections of the Fair Sex, even in the Days of *Augustus Caesar*; at which time, that Prudential Maxim was delivered to the World, *Percontatorem fugito, nam Garrulus idem est.* So that we need not seek an Illustration of it from the Poetical Purple Hair of *Megara*, or ascend the length of *Samson* for Examples of that Nature; since the Experience of every Age testifies, That 'tis the ordinary



nary Policy of Pragmatick Men,, *to plow with the Husband's Heifer, and so to unriddle their Mysteries*; for all Women are not the Daughters of *Cato*, nor the Wives of *Brutus*.

Rome it self, afforded three remarkable Instances of the great Curiosity and Futility of the Female Sex; the two first Comical, but the last very Tragical. The first concerns *Papyrius Cursor*, afterwards Famous for Conquering the insolent *Samnites*, who, when he was a Young Man, was one Day, importun'd by his Mother to tell her, what had kept the Senate Sitting so long beyond their ordinary time; he protested for Secrecy, and tho' she gave him all the Assurance he could demand; yet fearing she wanted that *Retentive Faculty*, he put her off with a feign'd Story, *That it was hotly Debated in the Senate, Whether Men might be allow'd plurality of Wives, and that at the next Dyet, it was likely to be De-*

*termin'd in favour of \* Polygamy*. This so allur'd her and others to whom she very speedily Communicated, what they thought a real Design, that against the next Dyet, which was the very next Day, the generality of the Matrons in Rome came to the Senate-House Door, Protesting to be Heard for their Interest, and declaring, they would never consent to such an injurious Act: When the Senate discover'd the Jest, they commended the Wit and Secrecy of *Papyrius*: but as *ex malis moribus bonæ oriuntur Leges*; so from that Day's Pageantry they took occasion to inhibit, for the future, the Senators Sons to be Witnesses to any weighty Debate, till they came to be of sufficient Age; excepting young

*Papy-*

\* For the Pagan Romans allow'd not Polygamy; but the Law permitting Divorce when the Husband pleas'd (providing the Dowry was restor'd) may be said to be equivalent to it.



*Papyrius*, who, having given Proof of his Prudence and Secrecy, was allow'd to be present at all their Meetings.

The second Instance, much to the same purpose, was of a Senator's Wife, who importuning her Husband to let her know, what great matter had kept him in the Senate-House so long from Dinner; he appear'd at first very shy, alledging, That nothing of moment should be entrusted to her Sex; especially, in matters of Life and Death, as was the present Case; for if the Secret was divulg'd, it might cost him his Life: This increas'd her Curiosity, and having made many Protestations of Secrecy, he at last told her with a seeming Gravity, what a strange Prodigy was seen last Night, a Lark flying over the City with a Helmet on its Head and a Javelin by its Side, which had so amaz'd the Senate that they were considering how to Propitiate the angry Gods: But before the Senator had got his Afternoon's Nap, and taken a turn to the Market-place, his Wife had so far Propagated the Story among her Gossips, as a great Secret, that as soon as the Husband appear'd in the Streets, he was accosted by divers of his Acquaintance, desiring to know his Thoughts of the prodigious Lark with Head-piece and Javelin? Returning immediately to his House, he told his Wife, with no small appearance of Grief and Anger, That by discovering that Secret she had undone him, it being toss'd like a Foot-ball in the Market-place: To which, with the readiness of Wit the most of the Sex discover in devising Excuses, she immediately answer'd, Are there not 300 Senators of you, and few of them

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Unmarry'd? and is it not to be thought, that the Curiosity of other Women is equal to mine? Why then may you not conclude, the Intelligence has flown from some of them? You say well, said he, if it had been a Reality; but I was the sole Author of that Fiction, and you the only Person to whom it was imparted, and therefore none other could divulge it: But hence, I learn this usefull Lesson, Never to intrust a Secret, which concerns Life or Honour to any of your Sex.

It was indeed, one of the *Pænitenda* of Cato the Censor, That ever he had entrusted a Secret to a Woman; but had he liv'd till he had been acquainted with his own great Grand-child, Portia the Wife of Brutus; and Livia the Wife of Augustus, 'tis probable, he would have excepted them: The former having given a Demonstration of her Patience and Secrecy, by that deep gash she made in her own Flesh with a Razor, so that, at last, she pump'd out of her pensive Husband the fatal Design, of Affassinating the Perpetual Dictator in the Senate-House: I confess, I have often wish'd, she had been like the most of her Sex, that thereby the Murder of the greatest Hero, might have been prevented: And tho' Livia was shrewdly suspected of dark Contrivances against the Lives of her Husband's nearest Relations; I mean, Marcellus the Sister's Son of Augustus, and his two Grand-Children by his Daughter Julia; and all, that her Son Tiberius might Reign: yet 'tis certain, that Wife Husband repositied many Secrets of State in her Bosom, knowing her to be Witty and Secret; and that she gave him very good Advice touching the Conspira-

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racy of Young Cinna, will be accounted for upon another Head. From these Exceptions the Reader may perceive, I am not such a *Gynomastix*, as that Morose Physician, who maintain'd, *That Woman was made only for Procreation of Children; and that, if God had design'd a Counsellor for Adam, he would have made another Man, and not the Woman.*

These Exceptions had almost made me forget the promis'd Tragical Instance; which is briefly this. After the Death of *Agrippa* and *Mecenas*, the two great Favorites of *Augustus*, he pitch'd upon one *Fulvius*, a Senator, to be his Principal *Privado*; and told him under great Secrecy, *That he repented of preferring Tiberius, a stranger in Blood, to young Agrippa, his own Flesh and Blood; and tho' he had good reason to relegate him, as a Profligate Youth; yet upon second Thoughts, he began to apprehend, that being Young, he might in time amend; and tho' Tiberius was a great Dissembler, yet he knew him to be inwardly as Vicious as the other, and more Cruelly dispos'd: So that, it being most Natural to prefer his own Grand-child, and the Son of so deserving a Father, to a Stranger; he desir'd his Friend and special Counsellor to think seriously upon it till the next Morning.* *Fulvius*, overjoy'd at this Motion, because he hated *Tiberius*, and lov'd the Memory of Old *Agrippa*, foolishly disclos'd the Emperor's Resolution to his Wife, knowing her Good-will to Young *Agrippa*: but tho' this discovery was made under Protestations of the greatest Secrecy; yet she could not sleep till she acquainted *Livia* with it, who immediately broke in upon the aged Husband like Thunder and Lightning (as was said



said of *Pericles's* Orations) reproaching him with no less Design than to take away her Son's Life and her own; and some Historians think, that she Poyson'd him some few Days afterwards, upon the same account. When *Fulvius* waited on the Emperor, next Morning, having made his ordinary Cringes and Complements by way of Salutation, his Great Master said no more to him, but, *God send you more Wit Fulvius*; which being utter'd with such a Countenance, so Thunder-struck the weak Counsellour, that he went home to his Wife, and pulling out his Dagger, told her, *Since by her Folly she had bereav'd him of the Emperor's Favour, he was resolv'd, not to live any longer: Hold,* said she, *till I speak a little; You are more to blame than I, for knowing me these 20 Years past, that I could keep nothing on my Stomach, you ought not to have entrusted me with such a Secret; yet for my Transgression, I shall make the first amends:* Whereupon, snatching the Dagger out of his Hand, she stabb'd herself, and so the Husband was only second in that Tragical Catastrophe.

From the Premises, a Politician will readily inferre, That 'tis highly inexpedient, for a Sovereign Prince to become *too Uxorious*; since a Female of great Judgment and Discretion, to conceal what ought not to be reveal'd, is rarely to be found; and one of these *Syrens*, by her charming melodious Harmony, may easily persuade too Amorous a Prince to disgorge into her Bosom the greatest Mysteries of State: I find, that good Christian Prince, *K. Charles the Ist*, tax'd with this Infirmary, both by Friends and Enemies: Nay, some late Writers have the Confidence to affirm, That the U-  
surper,



surper O. *Cromwel* would not have fail'd to have done for the Father, what afterwards G. *Monk* did for the Son, had it not been, that *Oliver* intercepted an unhappy Letter, from the King to the Queen, then in *France*, giving Account of the Promises *Cromwel* had made to him, and the Conditions he requir'd of him for the favour of Restitution: but subjoining in the end, That he did not trust him, and insinuating, he still look'd upon him as a *Cheat*, and as such, would make his own use of him: Which so enrag'd *Cromwel*, that he became the King's mortal Enemy; and 'tis too well known how Fatal the Event was. As for my own Opinion in the matter, I am perswaded, it was in *Cromwel*'s Power to make good all he promis'd, tho' he was then, only *Lieutenant General*; *Fairfax*, tho term'd General, being but a *Blank*, & *magni nominis umbra*; and that *Cromwel* had many private Conferences with the King at *Hampton-Court*, after he was violently brought from *Holmby*, is also unquestionable; but I think, it would have puzzel'd all the *Alchimists* in the World, to find one Grain weight of Ingenuity in such a *Crafts-master* of Hypocrisy: yet I wish, that Letter had been forborn, that the World might have seen how that *Proteus* would have behav'd.

There was also a Bundle of the King's Letters to the Queen, Printed by Order of the Long-Parliament, when his Cabinet was seiz'd, after the Fatal Defeat at *Naseby*, which rumbl'd that Unfortunate Prince from his Throne without recovery: And when we consider for what End they were Publish'd, we need not doubt, but the most invidious of 'em were  
cull'd



cull'd out; yet there is an Attestation of Omniscience in many of 'em, which, I suppose, few Princes, in this, or many fore-going Ages, can sincerely make, viz. *That tho' Divine Providence had made a Personal Separation betwixt 'em for many Months, nay, for divers Years; yet He, from whom nothing is hid, did know, that his Affectionate Thoughts never strayed from her.*

But supposing, that some Expressions had unwarily drop'd from his Pen, when he wrote those Letters; yet to expose them, as did that Parliament, was, in my Opinion, such a barbarous Act, as is not only irreconcilable with that Respect due to a Crown'd Head, whom *Bradshaw* himself own'd to be *Major singulis*; but also incompatible with that Civility which belongs to an Equal: And I am confident, the *Pagan Athenians* will rise up in Judgment and Condemn these *Barbarians*, who call'd themselves *Christians*: for even when they were in stated Enmity against that Ambitious and Subtil Monarch *Philip* of *Macedon*, they intercepted a Pacquet of Letters from him to his Queen *Olympias*; yet being from a Husband to a Wife, they sent it safely to that haughty Queen, without the least violation of its Seals; and gave this Reason for it, *That the Laws of all Civiliz'd Nations look'd upon Husband and Wife as Conjunctæ Personæ, and that there might be Secrets betwixt 'em, which ought not to be divulg'd.* Nay, I remember, to have seen a Declaration, emitted by that Unfortunate Prince, shortly after the Publication of those Letters; wherein he upbraids the Incivility of his own Subjects, with the great Generosity

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of a stranger Prince and Enemy ; namely, the Emperor *Ferdinand* the IId. to whose Hands an intercepted Packet of Letters was brought, directed from the Queen of *Bohemia* to her Father K. *James* the Ist, of *England*, and that during the greatest heat of the *Bohemian* War ; wherein the Emperor, as mostly concern'd, might have rationally expected some account of the Enemy's Designs ; especially considering, that the new Queen had the Militia : yet because it was from a Daughter to a Father, he sent it to *England* in its full integrity, accounting it an ingenuous Curiosity, to desire to know, what Secrets might be betwixt a Parent and a Child.

But as to such Princes, who were never apt to Doat upon the Fair Sex, it were their Happiness if none about them, but Females, were found to be *pleni rimarum* ; too many Male Councillors having been shrewdly suspected, in this Effeminate Age, to be Pensionaries to Strangers and Adversary Princes : On which account, some approve the method of Cabinet-Councils begun not long ago in *Italy*, *France* and *England* ; by some term'd *Private Juncto's* : but even in these, the Remedy is often worse than the Disease ; some oblique Lines being found, even in these narrow Circles, deviating from the Center of Honesty : For which we need no other Instance, than that of King *Charles* the Ist ; wherein there were only 4 Members, of which, that Unfortunate Prince was one : yet 'tis well known, that Old Sir *Henry Vane* the King's Secretary, and one of the 4, took Notes at home of all that past in that *Juncto*, and thereby contributed, not a little, to the Ruin of that Famous Deputy



Deputy of *Ireland*, when he was staged before the Parliament. So that a Gentleman in the House of Commons had good Reason to say, *If Young Sir Henry liv'd long, he would become Old Sir Henry*; the Son being like the Father *omni modo*.

About 20 Years afterwards, we find another Instance of the unfaithfulness of Cabinet-Councils. The Scene was *France*, and the number only three, *viz.* Cardinal *Mazarine*, the Queen Mother, and the Principal Secretary of State; wherein it was Resolv'd, That as soon as *Dunkirk* was gain'd from the *Spaniard*, the *French* should take Possession of it, notwithstanding the previous Capitulation with *Oliver Cromwel*, That for the Aid he should afford, the English should have Possession of that strong Fort, as soon as it came in their Power. *Cromwel* being seasonably advertis'd of this False-dealing, wrote a sharp Letter to the Cardinal, upbraiding him with his *Hocus pocus* Work, and threatening to come with Sword in Hand to the very Gates of *Paris*, and avenge himself on such a *Cheating Cardinal*: Which boisterous Martial Language so frightened the Timorous Gown-man, that he suffer'd *Cromwel* to have all his Will, who plac'd there that Noble Gentleman Collonel *Lockhart*, who had Marry'd his Neece; the first Governor for the *English*: and it had been a Happiness for *Britain*, that he had not also been the last; it having been such a pernicious Nest of Pyrates since it was Ignominiously Sold to the *French*. As for the Traitor in that *French Juncto*, the Cardinal suspected the Queen Mother; yet it was the Secretary, who was one of *Cromwel's* Private Pensioners; It be-



ing the Opinion of many, That this Subtle Usurper, imploy'd as much Money for private Intelligence, as for the Payment of his Army; and the Report of his surviving Secretary *Thurlo* confirms it, who told, *That one Day, Cromwel order'd him to deliver to an unknown Person, in a certain Place, a Bill for 20000 l. Sterl. payable at Venice:* The Secretary obey'd the Order, but knew neither the Person, nor his Business; but no doubt, it was on some Account of this Nature.

It is therefore my humble Opinion, That Cabinet-Councils are usually more dangerous for the Prince's Interest, than an ordinary Privy-Council, tho' much more numerous, providing it be well regulated; for many of those *Juncto's* are made up only of the Prince's Minions, having nothing too often, to recommend them to the World, save the Favour of their Royal Master; who perhaps, was never at pains to peruse that Excellent Treatise of *Plutarch*, which sheweth how to distinguish a Flatterer from a Friend. There is a vast difference 'twixt the Servants of God, and those of Men: when the King of Kings employs any to officiate in his Church, he immediately endues them with competent Abilities for that Divine Service, tho' they have been very defective before: 'tis true, many run when *God never sent them*; and therefore 'tis no wonder they stumble often, and fall at last; the Son of God having told us, *That if the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the Ditch*: But whom the Almighty is pleas'd to send to Labour in his Vine-yard, he sufficiently enables for that Work. It is not so with Monarchs upon Earth; they cannot possibly



possibly Create the Bodies of their meanest Favourites; far less the Faculties of their Souls : Nor can they furnish them with Qualifications necessary to discharge any eminent Trust : 'Tis true, the Court Air may polish them a little, and palliate some of their Imperfections ; but as the *Lyrick Poet* has told us long ago,

*Cælum non Animum mutat qui trans mare currit,*

So let an Afs be brought to Court, tho' his long Ears may be hid for a while with the Lion's Skin, yet he will be found to be but an Afs at last.

It is therefore the great Concern of Wise Princes to choose such Men, and only such, to be Counsellors, whom, on good Grounds, they reckon well Qualify'd for that Eminent Imployment : *The Trust of giving Counsel*: as Sir Francis Bacon well observes, *being by so much, the greatest of any betwixt Man and Man*; for in other Confidences, Men commit the Parts of Life, their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, or some particular Affair ; but to such as they make their Counsellors, they commit the whole : By how much the more then, are they oblig'd to all Faith and Integrity ! I verily believe, never any Prince was more solicitous, about choosing fit Counsellors, than that Masculine Queen of England, *Elisabeth* ; for tho' Sir Walter Raleigh was of great Natural and Acquir'd Parts, as his Excellent History sufficiently testifies ; yet she never thought fit to make him one of her Privy-Council : Which



is the more strange, since by her Appointment, he was, under God, the preserver of her Life, as being Captain of her Guard. Whether this her Shyness proceeded from the knowledge she had of his being one of those Head-strong Opiniators, who, as such, are very unfit to be Counsellors; or rather from the great Aversion she knew some of her old Counsellors had for him, I cannot determine.

As for the proper Qualifications of a Faithful Counsellor and Upright Judge, the best Breviary of them I could ever see, is in that sound Advice given to *Moses* by *Jethro*, in these Words, *Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the People, able men, such as fear God, Men of Truth, and hating Covetousness.* Which are so comprehensive; that 'tis worth the while to give a brief Paraphrase on them. By *Ability*, is not to be understood strength of the Body, but the Vigour of the Mind, in the exercise of Intellectual and Moral Indowments; for in a weak sickly Body, a Soul may be lodg'd sufficiently capable to give the soundest Counsel: And on the contrary, very few of extraordinary Bodily strength, have been found to be able Counsellors. *Sampson*, was certainly, one of the strongest among Men, as to his Body; and by the Apostle is listed among those, who dy'd in the Faith: yet by his foolish Conduct, he bewrayed a great deal of Weakness, as to his Intellectuals. And Youth is usually stronger than the Grey-Head; yet Experience confirms, what *Elihu* hath expressly told us, *That Days should speak, and multitude of Years should teach Wisdom.* Young Men, being generally more inclin'd to

Exod. 18. 21.

Job. 32. 7.



an Active than Contemplative Life; and consequently, more fit to execute what Contemplative Persons have maturely Advis'd: And 'tis well known, that when Young Men undertake to manage the Helm, they too exactly re-act the Tragedies of *Rehoboam's* Counsellors; and tho' like *Jehu*, they drive furiously, yet the Event differs widely; for by his great Haste, he secur'd the Crown to himself: but the most part of such Drivers, rather resemble the Horses in the Chariot of *Hippolitus*, who becoming Mad, as the Poets feign, drove their Innocent Master over the Rocks, till they broke all his Bones.

As our desirable Counsellor, should be of sufficient Age, neither *Childish Young*, nor *Beldam Old*; so he should be one of a competent Estate; lest *Necessity* be found a great Enemy to *Honesty*: For when one, who is drown'd in Debt, comes to Court, he fitly resembles an Hunger-starv'd Glutton at a Feast: But a Noble Spirit, who is found at Home practising Frugality, Charity and Hospitality, and is brought, as 'twere, unwillingly, like another *Cincinnatus* from the Plough, is fittest to be a Consul, or Dictator. And if he was the Legitimate Son of some Ancient Vertuous Family, 'tis so much the better; it being presumable, that such an Honourable Descent hath allow'd him the Advantages of a Good, Ingenious Education: Whereas, 'tis well known, that some, who are base Born, and Bred among *Plebeians*, usually smell of the Cask, tho' transplanted to a better Soil: Tho', I grant, it is not always so; for some, who were *Terræ Filii* by Birth, by improving their Natural Parts, have become, as the Proverb



expresseth it, *Sons of their own Right Arm*; of which, some Instances may be found, almost in every Age: I shall here only mention one, of a very mean Descent, yet a most worthy Counsellor, to one of the Greatest and Wisest of Earthly Princes, the Great *Augustus Caesar*, whose chiefest Servant and Counsellor was the Wise *Agrippa*; of whom, more by and by.

As to the *Fear of God*, the 2d. Article of this Excellent Summary; if taken in its greatest Latitude, it undoubtedly comprehends the two following Qualifications of a Compleat Courtier: It being impossible, that one, who dreads the Almighty, with a true filial Fear, should be either Unfaithful or Covetous; because the God of Truth will not dwell in that Soul which is void of Fidelity, nor in that Heart which Mammon is fully possess'd of. *Eusebius*, in the Life of *Constantine the Great*, gives a large Account of the Prudential Method taken by *Constantius Chlorus*, the Father of *Constantine*, how to discover, which of his Courtiers were sincere in the Profession of the Christian Religion, and which of 'em were ready to be of whatever Religion their Prince made Profession of; for *Constantius* was not a Profess'd Christian when he made this Detection: The Story is well enough known, and therefore I shall only from thence observe, That tho' that Excellent Prince was not so severe to his Hypocritical Courtiers, as was *Theodorick* King of the *Goths*, sometime afterwards, to his Hypocritical Deacon; yet he drove them all away, both from his Council and Presence, for this Reason; *That they, who were not Faithful to God, would never be*  
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*Faithful to Man*: But those sincere Professors, who choos'd rather to forsake their dearest worldly Interests than their Saviour, he hugg'd and caress'd, as his only Friends and Counsellors: Yet I am not of Opinion, that this notable Theorem holds always in the Negative; because some there may be, of loose Practices, and perhaps of Atheistical Principles, who out of meer Natural Generosity, would not for all the World, betray that Trust their Prince reposes in them, as Counsellors; but in the Affirmative, it still infallibly holds, *viz. True to God, and true to Man*. A sincerely Good Man may Erre, and sometimes grossly, either through Ignorance or Inadvertency; but when practical Errors proceed from a Principle of Malice, he cannot be that good Man, we are treating of.

As for *Covetousness*, 'tis certain, That thereby one is render'd most unfit to be either Judge or Counsellor; for such a narrow selfish Soul, is so far from being a Man of a Publick Spirit (as all worthy Judges and Counsellors undoubtedly are) that he is always ready to make *Self* and *Pelf* the Center and Circumference of all his Designs and Desires, of all his Actions and Delights; so that the belov'd Motto of *Epicurus* fitly belongs to him, *Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus*. Yet we must not imagine, that this Wise Counsellor of *Moses* allow'd any, in Publick Trust, to run to the other extream of *Prodigality*; nay, 'tis no Paradox to say, That this is here implicitly forbid; for tho' few such foolish Wasters become so unnatural, when nigh the bottom of their Coffers, as to hang themselves, as did that vile Epicure *Apicius*; yet as soon



as their own Goods fail, 'tis the Epidemical Inclination of all such Lavishers, to covet what is their Neighbour's; to obtain which, if they have Power, they will not fail to Employ it, on all occasions, in oppressing the Weak; from whom they can squeeze any fewel to foment their Lust and Riot, and uphold their Grandeur and Profuseness. This is evident to all, who peruse the Lives of divers Roman Emperors; such as *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Commodus* and *Heliogabalus*, who having by their excessive Riot and Prodigality exhausted the Publick Treasure, and the ordinary Revenues of the Empire, which, tho' very great, was not inexhaustible; gave then occasion to the People of *Rome* sadly to conclude, That it was Crime enough to be Rich; for false Accusers, and false Witnesses being too frequent in those Days, as well as in After-ages, many Innocents were Unjustly put to Death, meerly for this end, That the Prodigal Emperor might become their Heir and Executor. In fine, these Words of the Apostle, *He who knows not how to Rule his own House well, how can he take Care of the Church of God?* may be fitly apply'd to the State; a Family being the least Model or Diminutive of both: Thus we read in the Life of *Philip* of *Macedon*, a little after his Queen *Olympias* and Son *Alexander* had retir'd from the Court in Displeasure, *Demaratus* the *Corinthian* making a Visit to the King, and being ask'd by him, *How the States of Greece Agreed among themselves?* readily answer'd, *It becomes you well, O King, to enquire concerning the Concord of the Grecians, when there is such Discord and Contention in your own Court.* Which so nettled the King,



King, that he rested not till he brought back the Discontented Wife and Son.

From this Character of a Faithful Counsellor, 'tis easy to inferre, That when a Nation is Bless'd with many such Worthies, and a Sovereign Prince is so Happy and Wise to choose a competent number of 'em, to assist in his secret Council, there is more Secrecy to be found in them, than has been yet observ'd in the ordinary Constituent Members of Cabinet Councils. The Senate of *Venice* is a convincing Evidence of this; tho' it is the most numerous substantial Judicature in *Europe*; yet the Noble *Venetians* Manage their greatest Affairs with a great deal of Secrecy as well as Solidity; for which, there is a notable Instance in the preceeding Age: It is the Custom of that Wise State to Imploy even Strangers in the most eminent Trusts in the War, if they have the Reputation of Courage and Conduct, Prudence and Faithfulness; yet still accountable to the State, and liable to Punishment, if guilty of Mal-administration: One of these being shrewdly suspected for holding private Correspondence with the Enemy; that Wary State spent no less than three Months in diving to the bottom of his Knavery; and tho' he liv'd all that time in the City, yet neither from his Conversation with divers of the Senators in Private, nor from his Publick Audiences, could he discover any thing of their Displeasure; nor did he apprehend himself in any Danger till that very Day, in which his Unfaithful Head was appointed to be separated from his Body, by a most just Sentence, after his Guilt was sufficiently found out.

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There is yet one Particular, concerning Secrecy, which must be added; That when any weighty Matter requires speedy Resolution, exact Secrecy, and most diligent Dispatch; 'Tis the Opinion, of great Masters of true Politicks, that all Publick or Private Conciliary Meetings be balk'd, for that time; and that the Prince call for one, or two, or at most, three of such Counsellors, whom he reckons most Faithful and Judicious, yet not together, but so separately, that one may not imagine, any other is acquainted with the Affair; for thus each of 'em will readily conclude, That if the Matter come Abroad, he only is to bear the blame; none other, as he imagines, being honoured with the Secret: And that this hath been the Method of some Princes, Renown'd as the great *Wits* of their Age, appears from the following Instances.

Tho' the Senate of *Rome*, was the great Council of the Empire, resembling our Parliaments, save that it could not be legally Dissolv'd; yet the Wise *Augustus*, selected so many Senators to serve every Month, as his Secret Council; but when any Affair of great Importance occur'd, which requir'd both Secrecy and Dispatch, he usually call'd for his two greatest Favourites, *Agrippa* and *Mecenas*, and that severally, that the Business might be the more closely and speedily Manag'd: 'Tis already hinted, That no Man in his Age, was fitter to be a Counsellor, than the great *Agrippa*; and if we consider the great Things he effected, and his manner of Acting, never any Subject was more Discreet, and Respectful of his Master's Honour than he; of whom it might have been as truly

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ly said, as of *Parmenio*, That he had done many great Things without *Alexander*; but that this great Conqueror never did any great thing without him: For it was certainly by the Valour and Conduct of *Agrippa*, that the great Naval Victory was obtain'd at *Actium*, against *Mark Antony*; and another at *Sicily* over *Sextus Pompeius*: yet so Humble and Self-deny'd, was that Great Servant, that he refus'd the Honour of Triumph for any of his Victories, referring all he did to the Glory of his Great Master; who was indeed much more grateful to him, than was *Alexander* to *Parmenio*: for *Augustus* heap'd so much Wealth and Honour upon him, that the other Favourite *Mecenas*, had the Boldness to tell him, That he behov'd either to make him his Son-in-law, or take away his Life: And after he had Marry'd the Daughter, and only Child of that great Emperor, tho' himself was of a very mean Descent; yet considering the extraordinary Personal Worth of the Husband, and the scarce parallell'd Impudence of the Wife, it may be truly said, that *Julia* was better Marry'd than *Agrippa*.

I cannot forbear to mention one of the Good-works of *Agrippa*, in time of Peace, which was the effect of great Wealth, and much Religion too, according to the Pagan Superstition; namely, his causing Build at his own Charge, that glorious and long-lasting Fabrick of an Heathen Temple, call'd the *Pantheon*; which, one of the Popes (very wisely) transform'd into a Christian Church, by Consecrating and Dedicating it to the True and Living God; at this Day call'd *Maria Rotunda*, or the Church of *All-Saints*, instead of



of *All Gods*. I shall only add one Word concerning the other Favourite, *Mecenas* : he was a *Roman Knight*, of good Descent, and great Natural Parts ; but too like King *Demetrius* : for his Luxury, in the End, prevail'd so far over his Judgment, that his Great Master begun to suspect him of Futility, applying to him that of the Poet.

*Quid non Ebrietas designat, operta recludit.*

The 2d. Instance, is of *Henry the VIIIth. of England*, accounted a Wise Prince, and had been really such, had he not sully'd his Honour by becoming so sordidly Avaricious in his Old-age, that he stretch'd all the Penal Statutes as far as possibly they could go : On which Account, his Prodigal Son, in the first Year of his Reign, did readily comply with that Advice, To crush the Ministers of his Covetousness, *Empson* and *Dudley*, thereby to ingratiate himself with his People, as *Otho* did by *Tigellinus* : These *Spunges* he squeez'd no less severely, than the great *Turk* usually handles his Wealthy *Basha's*. But abstracting from this great *Sphalma* in his Government, and most unkingly Humour, he was otherways a very Great Soul ; yet so Close and Reserv'd, that in his most perplex'd Affairs, he usually Consulted none else, but his two Chief Minions, *Morton* of *Ely*, and *Fox* the Bishop of *Durham* : That good Bishop of *Ely*, was a great Master of true Politicks ; for it was he, who first Advis'd, That for the Peace of the Kingdom, which had been long harass'd with a most Cruel Unnatural War, wherein no fewer than 80 of the Blood Royal



al had been cut off, in 24 Years; *It was necessary, to unite the Red-rose with the White, by bringing in the Earl of Richmond, Heir of the House of Lancaster, to Marry the Eldest Daughter of Edward the IVth, the undoubted Head of the Royal Family of York.* Which healing Counsel, as it afterwards took effect, so he gave it very early, even when he was Confin'd to the House of *Buckingham* by *Richard the IIIrd*, which Unhappy Duke, was then become a private Penitent, for being a Tyrannical Tool so long. So that *Henry the VIIth.* had Reason, all his Days, to trust so good a Friend, and so Wise a Counsellor, as was that Excellent *Bishop*.

The last Example, is found in the good Government of *Queen Elisabeth*, who was still ready to follow good Counsel, and Happy in having many to give it; whereby she kept the *Ballance of Europe* steady all her Time: Which was not so carefully done by some of her Successors. For about the beginning of her long Reign, she put a seasonable stop to the Tyrannical Incroachments of the *French* upon *Scotland*; and during all the rest of her Time, she Counterpois'd the Exorbitant Power of *Spain*, both in *France* and the *Netherlands*: yet her Treasurer, Lord *Burleigh*, and Secretary *Walsingham* were the two she mostly Consulted with, in her Intricate Affairs; and when the former was ty'd to his Bed, (as he frequently was by the *Gout*) she thought it no Disparagement to go to him, and tell him, *It was not his Feet, but his Head she stood in need of.* Which was so replenish'd with substantial Policy, That, as some Judicious Historians observe, she might have



have run the Risque of quite loosing the Reigns of Government, had he not pointed at the true Critical Minute of Arresting the Duke of *Norfolk*; whose Fortune was so great, his Friends and Allies so Powerful, that if his Head had serv'd him to manage his favourable Circumstances, he might afterwards have proved too hard for the Queen her self. I have already said something of the great Fidelity of Secretary *Walsingham*; I shall only add, That his Faculty of *Penetrating into the secretest Councils of Europe*, is the more to be Acknowledg'd, as undoubted; since he had the Dexterity to unlock the Cabinet of Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, when asleep; and procure an exact Transcript of that Letter, writ by *Philip* the Ild. of *Spain*, concerning the Design of the *Armado*; altho' the said *Sixtus* was as Smart and Vigilant a Pope as possess'd that Chair, since the Days of *Gregory the Great*: I do not mean, his *Vigilancy in the Pastoral Care over his great Flock*; for that hath been thought below the Bishops of *Rome* long ago; but in his Art of Governing the Papacy, or those many Temporal Lands, which the foolish Munificence of King *Pepin*, *Charlemaign*, and that Virago Countess *Mathildis*, bestow'd on the *Roman Church*.

It is now high time to come to the other Branch of this Prudential Rule; namely, *Celerity* in Executing a good and great Design, after mature Deliberation: I'm confident, never any Son of *Mars* excell'd the Famous *Julius Caesar*, in the matter of *Dispatches*; for he may be said to have had an *Aquiline Flight* towards the *Prey*, when the least Necessity call'd for his Presence; so that the Poet might



might have given him the first place amongst the *Fulmina belli*. The *Gauls* were never more ready to make Insurrections than in Winter, when they knew, *Cæsar* was beyond the Mountains; but he was usually found in the midst of 'em, before they imagin'd he had ascended to the top of the *Alps*; so that, what he said, long afterwards, of the new King of *Pontus*, might have been frequently apply'd to his most diligent Expeditions against them: *Veni, vidi, vici*. It was his speedy advancing towards *Rome*, after his *Facta est alea*, at the fatal *Rubicon*, that made *Pompey* flee out of *Italy*, without having leisure to stamp with his Foot, and fill all *Italy* with Armed Men; as he had once foolishly vaunted: nor could that great Antagonist of the Noble *Cæsar*, be persuaded, That his Father-in-law had Defeated *Afranius* and *Petrenius* in *Spain*, till he saw him drawing his Lines of Circumvallation about himself in *Dyrrachium*. And his discovering himself to the Pilot, telling him, *Cæsarem vehis, & fortunam Cæsaris*, (when he would have him make forwards to *Brundisium*, notwithstanding of a mighty Tempest) abundantly shews he was a great Master of Dispatches.

The Brave *Sertorius*, was also one of that Category: for when he found *Italy* too hot for him, he March'd, with the remains of *Marcius's* Faction, in great haste towards *Spain*, to prevent his Enemies, by making a new Interest for himself, in that newly Conquer'd Country; but when he came to the *Pyrenees*, some sturdy Nations oppos'd his Passage, unless he would purchase their Good-will with a considerable Sum of Money; and having



condescended to give it, his Captains were exceedingly displeas'd, alledging, *It was highly dishonourable for the Romans to pay Tribute to Barbarians: Nay, said that Wise General, I only buy time.* Sertorius was not only the Son of Mars, but also of Minerva; and 'tis probable, he knew what Agesilaus said and did, when he was driven out of Asia by so many Thousand Horsemen, alluding jestingly to the Persian Gold call'd *Daricks*, with the Effigies of a Man on Horseback, whereby the States of Greece were stirr'd up against Sparta, which occasion'd his being call'd home to defend his own Country: As he came to the Borders of Macedon, he very Civilly sent to the King, and demanded Liberty to pass with his Army through his Country: The King return'd Answer, *That he would advise upon it: Let him Consult,* said Agesilaus, *so long as he pleaseth, in the mean time I will March on:* And so he did, without any Impeachment: The Macedonian knew not of his coming, till he was upon his Border; but these Barbarous Nations had so prepossess'd all the Straits and Fastnesses of their lofty Mountains, that Sertorius behov'd either to Fight for his Passage, or to buy it with Money; he wisely choose the latter, rather than consume any part of his Army, or precious time without Necessity.

On the other hand, some Imprudent Princes, and many Thousand other Persons, by neglecting to take Occasion by the Foretop, have found it quite Bald behind; without regarding that sound Advice of the Wise Man, *You know not what a Day may bring forth.* To which the Words of the Heathen Poet, seem to allude;

*Nescis*



*Nescis quid serus Vesper uehat.*

The Spaniards have been taxed, long ago, for being too slow in Deliberation; but are found more culpable, in these latter Years, for want of Diligence in executing what hath been hammer'd out to their Hands, by more Solid and Resolute Heads: Thus 'tis observ'd of Naples, one of their Conquer'd Kingdoms, which, as is already told, was most Ingenerously wrested by *Ferdinand the Catholic*, from his own Blood; There are few Nations have suffer'd more Changes and Alterations of State, than the Inhabitants of that Kingdom; especially, since the Pope's pretended a Superiority over it: I shall give it in the Words of *Machiavel*, that Witty Florentine Secretary: *It being usual with the Popes to call new Men into Italy, and stir up new Wars for their own Ambition, not suffering any to possess that long, which themselves, through their weakness, could not hold, and practising the overthrow of those very Men, whom themselves had rais'd to Power and Greatness.* I find one of those Competitors and Candidates of the Pope's, justly derided, for his Indiligence, by his Rival, who was in Possession of the Kingdom; *If my Antagonist, said he, had enter'd the Kingdom the first Day, when he advanc'd with his Army to the Border of it, he might have surpriz'd both me and my Kingdom; if he had approach'd the 2d Day, he might have got the Kingdom, tho' not the King; but by delaying till the 3d, he was disappointed of both.* And the Eastern Empire affords one fatal Instance of a lesser Delay, which

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cost the Prince both his Crown and Life : The Emperor *Leo* the Vth, Surnam'd *Armenius* from his Country, having seiz'd a Rebellious Nobleman, Nam'd *Michael Balbus*, he was Sentenc'd to be Beheaded for his Treason, on the Vigil of *Christmäss* ; the Religious Empress begg'd with Tears a *Reprieve*, till the next Morning after that great *Christian Festival* ; but upon *Christmäss* Day, the Emperor was slain in the Church, in time of Divine Service, and the Rebel *Michael* set up in his Place.

There is an old *Greek* Proverb gives me occasion to narrate another Example, to this purpose : The Gallant *Theban Pelopidas*, grudging that the *Lacedæmonians* had Treacherously surpriz'd their Town Citadel call'd *Cadmæa*, with divers other Patriots, Plotted to cut off the Governour *Archias*, whom the *Spartans* had set over them, that by Murdering him and his Principal Dependents, at a Feast, they might recover their Liberty : Which Plot was so cunningly contriv'd, that his own Secretary, a native *Theban*, was Master of the Feast : while the Table was covering for Supper, about the middle of which, they design'd the Murder, a Pacquet of Letters came to his Hand from his Friend and Namesake at *Athens*, giving an Account of the Conspirators Names, and all the Circumstances of the Plot : but the unhappy Governor, being in his Cups, threw it into a Window, and said, *To Morrow is a new Day* ; meaning, that next Morning, he would find time enough to peruse it ; but he never saw the Light of that new Day : Therefore it became Proverbial in *Greece*, when any delay'd  
till



till the next Day, what must be done sometime or other, That *he was one of Archias's to Morrow Fools.* Thus considering the great Vicissitude of all Sublunary Affairs, the very Heathen Moralists have generally concluded, That 'tis a Point of great Wisdom, *To do that to Day, if it be possible, which must once be done; and never to defer any important matter to another Day.*

This Excellent Maxim should produce in all, who believe the Immortality of the Soul and a future Judgment, a serious Consideration of what an indispensable Necessity they lie under, to make up their Peace with God in time, least a delay, in such a weighty Concern, prove dangerous and without Remedy: For since the Soul is infinitely more valuable than all the Goods of the Body, or Fortune; and seeing worldly Prudence obligeth every Man to Care seasonably, for the great Interests of this Life; Spiritual Wisdom should more powerfully persuade every one, to make seasonable provision for that which is Eternal: *Work, saith our Saviour, while it is Day, for the Night of Death is coming, and none knows how soon, wherein no Man can work.* It is not to be expected, that the Season of Grace and Mercy shall go beyond the term of this Life; in some obstinate Offenders it may be much shorter: But since we as little know if we shall live an Hour, or Minute longer, as 'tis impossible for us to recall the Time we have liv'd, and perhaps mispent, already, and are only Masters of what St. *Austin* calls the *το νυν* the Moment we presently enjoy; it is therefore indispensibly necessary, that we do our utmost endeavour to Day, nay this Mi-



nute, without any delay, to secure that *unum Necessarium*, our Soul's *eternal Interest*, least we find, by sad Experience, That *it will be impossible to escape, if we neglect so great Salvation*. Since it is suppos'd, I am speaking mostly to Christian Princes, or those, who ought to be such; I hope, the Reader will not reckon this a Digression; or if he does; I take it to be a very Charitable one.

There is yet something of great Weight to be suggested, before I end this Point; namely, That the Precaution and Diligence of Princes extend not only to Foreign Commotions, but also, and chiefly, to Intestine Combustions: for saith the Poet:

*Principiis obsta, sero Medicina paratur,  
Quum mala per longas invalere moras.*

Foreign War, is fitly compar'd to Heat acquir'd by Exercise, which serves to dissipate many superfluous Humours in the Natural Body, as many noxious Things in the Body Politick are frequently evacuated by such a War: But Domestick Troubles, in the Bowels of a Kingdom, are more properly resembl'd to the Preternatural Heat of a Fever, and that of the most dangerous kind, a *Hectic*, when it is come to its height, call'd a *Marasmus*; an *Ephemeran* Fever preys but lightly on the Spirits, and usually comes to an end, in the space of a Natural Day; other Fevers, Simple or Complicated, Continuing or Intermittent, Putrid or Pestilential, take up their principal Residence in the Humours; but the *Hectick*, in process of time, consumes the very Substance of the Body, and at last leaves



leaves the poor Patient, as it were, *a living Skeleton*: But this Similitude, 'twixt the Natural and Politick Body, holds, not only as to Depredations on their respective Substances; but also in this regard, That tho' the 3d degree of the *Hætick*, call'd *Marasmus*, is indeed incurable, without a Miracle; yet, if taken in time, when it first begins, it is easily cur'd; tho' I confess, it requires some Art to know the critical Minute of the first Invasion: I say, the Cure is easily perform'd, if a skilful Physician shall seasonably order a little *Phlebotomy* in the beginning, with some light *Catharticks*, and specifick *Restoratives* and *Preservatives*, and good *Dyet* for the future: The application to the *Politick Body*, and *State Physician*, is obvious, and needs not be insisted on.

The Vth. EVIDENCE of Prudence in a *Generous Prince*, is to be still present with his *Army*, in an *Offensive* or *Defensive War*, giving them *Countenance* and *Direction*; unless he is restrain'd by *Old-age* or *Infirmity* of *Body*: Without all peradventure, the Presence of a Prince does mightily Animate all, who have any *Courage* or *Sense of Honour*, so to acquit themselves as to merit a *Reward*; the *Roman* Generals having divers kinds of *Crowns* to bestow on those *Soldiers*, whom they saw behaving themselves Gallantly, either in *Battel*, or the *Storming* of *Towns*: nay, *Cowards* themselves will the more readily stand their *Ground*, and do what they can, if the *Eye* of their *Prince* is upon 'em at least, for fear of *Punishment*; in this, resembling the *Generosity* of the *Lion*, who will not run away from a multitude of *Dogs*



when Men are looking upon him: On this Account the *Lacedemonians* carry'd their Kings to the *Campus belli*, even in their Cradles; and that known Expression of *Antigonus Döson*, *How many take you me for?* Shews what an Estimate should be made of the Presence of a Prince. But if he Abscond, or remove, without Necessity, as he gives a Demonstration of his being void of *Hercick Fortitude*, so his own Mercenaries will readily conclude, He hath less Courage than any of themselves, who for a small Pittance, hazzard their Lives for one, who dares not look the Enemy in the Face, when his whole Fortune is at stake.

Thus it fared with *Perseus*, that naughty King of *Macedon*, the last of the Race of *Antigonus*: I shall give Account of the great Misfortune his foolish Cowardice brought upou him, in *Plutarch's* Words, which are very Edifying for all sorts of Princes: In the Life of *Paulus Æmilius*, he thus writes; *That Noble Roman General passing through his Squadrons of Horse, without Cuirass or Helmet, shew a Noble Chearful Countenance to them that Fought; but on the other side, Perseus, as Polybius writes, as soon as the Battel begun, withdrew himself into the City of Pydne, under pretence of going to do Sacrifice to Hercules, who doth not accept the faint Sacrifice of Cowards, nor receive their Prayers, because they are Unreasonable: for 'tis no Reason that he who shooteth not, should hit the white; nor that he should win the Victory, who bideth not the Battel, neither that he should have any good, who doth nothing towards it; nor that a naughty Man, should be Fortunate and Prosperous;*



*sperous ; the Gods did favour Æmilius, because he pray'd for Victory with Sword in Hand, and Fighting, did call to them for Aid. Then he Narrates, how that, when the same Avaricious and Timorous Prince was brought Prisoner to Æmilius, after he had taken shelter in the Isle of Samothrace, the Civil Consul rose from his Chair, and went to meet him, with Tears in his Eyes, to see a great King, by Fortune of War, and the Will of the Gods, fallen into that most lamentable State : But on the contrary, how unmanly and shamefully he behav'd himself, falling down at his Feet, embracing his Knees, and uttering such uncomely Speech and vile Requests, as Æmilius could not abide to hear them, but knitting his Brows, and being heartily offended, spoke thus to him, *Alas, poor Man, Why dost thou defame my Victory, and blemish the Glory of my doings ; shewing thy self so base a Man, as my Honour is not great, in overcoming so unworthy an Enemy ; the Romans have ever esteem'd Magnanimity, in their greatest Enemies ; but Dastardliness, tho' Fortunate, is hated of every Body.**

The Emperor *Otho* committed a more Imprudent Act in Martial Conduct, than that silly King *Perseus* ; for he not only abandon'd his Camp at *Bebriacum*, a little Town hard by *Cremona*, when his Army was ready to Engage with the Lieutenants of his Competitor *Vitellius* ; but by returning back into *Bersello*, a Town near the River *Po*, he altogether discourag'd his Men, both by withdrawing his Presence from them, and carrying along with him the Valiantest of his Soldiers, for the Guard of his Person ; which reiterated Act of Folly,



Folly, even *Perseus* himself, was not guilty of.

To these two Infidel Princes, the *Palsgrave*, a little after he was declar'd King of *Bohemia*, may, for bad Conduct, be reckon'd a Parallel; who, judging his Cause very good, ought to have been so Vigorous a Prosecutor of it, as to have been at the Head of his Army, when Engag'd with the Enemy, rather than at Church hearing Sermon: No doubt, *Plutarch*, if then alive, would have readily apply'd, to a Christian Prince, the above mention'd Satyr against the pretended Religion of a *Pagan*; a Wiser Man than that Heathen Philosopher, having told us, *That there is a time for all Things*: Nay, the Theological Axiom, *Præcepta affirmativa obligant semper, sed non ad semper*, is undoubtedly Explain'd by our Saviour's saying in the Gospel, *God will have Mercy and not Sacrifice, i. e.* Since the Infinite Goodness and Wisdom is pleas'd to permit Works of Piety to give place to necessary Duties of Charity; he must be void both of Charity and Judgment, who would brand his Neighbour with Impiety, because he rose, in time of Prayer, to pull his Child out of the Flames; or for hastning out of the House, before his ordinary Devotion was ended, when he found it ready to fall about his Ears. And if any Object that of *Numa Pompilius*, tho' a *Pagan*, *ast ego Sacrifico*; let them remember, That the Enemy was not just at his Back, but only advancing towards *Rome*. As for *Pausanias*'s delaying to Fight the *Persians* at *Plataea*, till he found a good Omen in the Sacrifice; 'tis to be consider'd, that such was the Superstition of many, both *Greck* and *Roman*,  
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Generals, That till some favourable Victim appear'd on the Altar, they would not Engage the Enemy; choos'ing rather to suffer some of the People to perish, than to have the whole Army destroy'd by the Angry Gods.

It is hard to find an Instance of an Army proving Successful, if it was discountenanc'd, or deserted by a Cowardly Prince; instead of appearing at the Head of it, when about to Engage the Enemy : But 'tis more difficult to produce an Example of a Prosperous Army, when the Head is driven away from the Body Politick. Which minds me of a strange Solecism, in Point of War, practis'd in *Scotland*, in the memory of Man, about the Minority of King *Charles* the III, when that Bold Usurper *Cromwel* came down to *Scotland*, with a considerable *English* Army, that, *destroying the Heir*, after the Assassination of the Father, *the Inheritance might be his own*; and having given a very small Ruffle to the *Scots* Forces, the most bigot *Fanaticks* among 'em, yea, even the Commission of their *Kirk*, (influenc'd by some of the Factious Nobility) cry'd out, *There was an Achan in the Camp, an accursed Thing, which ought to be remov'd; otherways the People of the Lord would still turn their Backs upon their Enemies*: And who was this *Anathema*, that *prodigious Malignant*? but their own Prince, to whom they gave a Bill of Ease, menacing and forcing him to retire above 20 Miles from that Scene of War: 'Tis true, he was then a very Young Man, but nevertheless, he might have appear'd at the Head of his own Army, resolute to Live and Die with those, who were ready to Defend their King and Country, against



against most unjust Invaders : So that it was the height of Presumption in them to Advise, and much more to Threaten and Force him to depart : and gave a shrewd Suspicion, that they were Traiterous Subjects, or Private Correspondents with the Enemy, whose Design, of separating the Head from the Body, amounted to no less, than to destroy both at last.

I end this particular with a singular Observation of *Josephus* the *Jewish* Historian, concerning *K. Saul* : he magnifies him as a Man of the greatest Valour and sense of Honour that ever liv'd, because he went so resolutely against the *Philistines*, tho' he was assured he should fall that day before the Enemy ; no doubt the Historian alludes to the prediction concerning his Death, he received from the Witch at *Endor* ; and it is as little to be doubted, that he imagin'd, it was really *Samuel*, who appear'd and spoke to him, and not a *Fantom* ; as we may perceive from his great Consternation and Confusion, when he heard his dreadful threatnings : but whether it was a Real or Phantastical Apparition, is much controverted among the Ancients ; which consideration alone should have persuaded a sorry Writer of a little Treatise of Heresies, I mean *Philastrius* Bishop of *Brescia*, not to have been so positive in placing these, who were for the *Real presence*, in the Number of Hereticks ; but this Author being so injudicious as to rank some, in that odious Class of Heresie, whose Opinions are true, at least problematically disputed, I joyn issue with the famous Doctor of *Sorbon*, *M. dupin*, that the best Quality of that insignificant Book, is its Brevity.

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The VI. EVIDENCE of Prudence, even in a *Generous Prince*; is, not to be too adventurous, when he makes this glorious appearance, at the head of his Army, lest it become fatal both to the Head and Body. Demades, the Athenian Orator, fitly compares the Army of Alexander the Great, after his Death; to the Cyclop Polyphemus, after his Eye was put out; because, even then, it wanted not Strength, but Direction. Mythologists tells us, that the Body of an Army was represented, among the Ancients, by Briarius's 100 Hands; and the Head of the Politick Body, by the hundred Eyes of Argus; because the General of an Army should stand, as it were, on a Watch-Tower, and send his Orders to every Corner: as all the Nerves of Sense and Motion, have their Origination from the Head, and as the Heart is the Center of the natural Body, where the Aorta is radicated, which disseminates its twigs of Pulsation to the whole Circumference; so a Prince should mostly have his Station in the Center of the Body Politick, even when engaged with an Enemy, retaining with him sufficient Reserves, that Lines may be seasonably drawn therefrom, to be a present help in time of need, to the Wings and extream parts of that Military Body. The famous Montrose had unquestionably two of the great properties of a good Surgeon, viz. an Eagle's Eye, and a Lyon's Heart; for it argued great Courage, Conduct, and Fortune, to gain six Victories in less than a Year; yet he was constant to the Methods above express'd, and seldom or never personately engaged, when he was General of the Army; well knowing, that when there is no Pilot  
to



to direct the Vessel aright, the danger of its splitting on Rocks, or Shelves is the more Eminent. And that the too Adventurous engagements of Princes, when Generals of Armies, either before or after the Battel, has been fatal to many of them, will appear from the following instances,

Cyrus the Younger with his Gallant, tho' little, *Græcian* Army, had certainly the Crown of *Persia* at the up-taking, if he could have taken up himself and remembered that of the Poet,

*Parce puer Stimulis, & fortius utere Loris.*

No doubt he concluded, that his adventuring, almost singly, among many thousand effeminate *Asiatics*, was but like a Wolfe's engaging amongst a great Flock of Sheep; yet he should have considered; that tho' these *Sheep*, in the figure of Men, wanted Hearts, yet they had hands to throw Darts at a distance, which might prove fatal to a disarm'd Head, as his was, when his Cask fell off. And here, I cannot forbear a notable little Observation, tho' it may be reckon'd a small Digression; That real Honesty and Valour must needs be Excellent Qualifications; since all Knaves affect the Title of the former, and Cowards covet the Reputation of the latter: Thus *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, Elder Brother to the Gallant Young *Cyrus*, tho' he was never Renown'd for Valour, yet he desir'd greatly to be thought the only Man that had kill'd his Brother, and that with his own Hand; and for the denial of this piece of unnatural *Lying Vanity*,



ry, many of his Subjects were put to a very Tragical Death.

It is well observ'd by the great *Thuan*, That when the Prince of *Parma* advanc'd, with the *Spanish* Army, to the Relief of *Roan*; King *Henry* the IVth. of *France*, was more oblig'd, for the preservation of his Life, at least his Liberty, to his former Reputation as a Prince of great Courage and Conduct, than to his rash Deportment at that time; for he would needs go out as a Private Man, with a little Party of Horse, to view the approaching Enemy at a distance; but before he was aware, he was almost surrounded with a great Party of the Adversary: and if the *Wary Spanish General* could have been persuaded, as was Suggested, that *the King* was there, he would no doubt, have sent forth a much greater number: but he could not believe, that a great Prince, so famous for Martial Conduct, could be so imprudent as to adventure his Person, in the face of a great, well Disciplin'd Army, as if he had been a *Scout*, or one of the *Forlorn-hope*; and as to the number sent out against him, he had enough adoe to extricate himself out of their Clutches. Another great Hero of the Age, the Renowned *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, precipitated himself into the like inconvenience, with a more fatal consequence, to the great regrate of all the true Sons of *Mars*; for before the two Armies were well joyned, at the Battle of *Lutzen*, this great Prince, hearing there was a Party advancing to joyn the Enemy, in which was the fierce *Papenheim*, was curious to know what they were, and therefore would needs make up one of the number of intelligencers, but never return'd



turn'd with the news how he sped; for he was unfortunately shot to Death upon the spot.

I shall now give an example or two, of such Generals, who have lost themselves by adventuring to far, after the great Body of the Enemy was defeat; which was never done, by General nor common Soldier, among the *Lacedæmonians*; for remembring that wise old Proverb, above taken notice of, that *'tis fit to make a golden Bridge to a fleeing Enemy*; they fought no more but to beat them off from the *Campus belli*, that they might at leisure bury their dead, and erect a Trophy of their Victory upon the place of Battel; by which generous Deportment, they not only evited the needless Effusion of much innocent Blood, but also most wisely prevented the inconvenience, the greatest antagonist they ever had, did fall in, namely the famous *Epaminondas*, who by pursuing the routed Enemy at *Mantineæ*, with too passionate a Courage, lost his Life in the Cause; the fatal shaft of a flying *Spartan* having wounded him to Death: and this is the only Error, that, for ought I find, this great Man was guilty of; so that I joyn issue with the Lord *Montaigny*, *That there never was a braver Man than Epaminondas, and very few that came his Length*: Nay, some had the confidence to say, he excell'd all the Captains, that went before him, or were contemporary with him.

Many *Greek* and *Roman* Worthies are indeed Famous, to this Day, for being Eminent in one particular Vertue; as we may read of the Fortitude of *Alexander*, the Clemency of *Cæsar*, the Justice of *Aristides*, the Prudence of *Cato*, the Eloquence of *Pericles*; the  
Sobriety



Sobriety of *Curius*, the Patience of *Photion*, the Chastity of *Scipio Africanus*, the Vigilancy of *Themistocles*, the Integrity of *Brutus*, &c. but this unparallel'd Hero, was not only eminent in all these Moral Vertues; but also went as high in Intellectual Perfections as the Light of Nature could direct him: for he was well acquainted with all the Liberal Sciences, and tho' he had a wonderful Presence of Mind, both in times of Peace and War; yet so Modest was he withall, that his Taciturnity gave occasion to a Philosopher to say, That *never Man knew more, and spoke less, than did this Noble Theban*: Neither must I forget his glad Poverty, and contempt of Riches, which appears not only from his rejecting that great Sum of Gold, the King of *Persia* sent to him; but also in that he dy'd so Poor, that the *Thebans* behov'd to defray the Charges of his moderate Funeral: and they had good Reason to do it, for *Thebes*, before and after him, was still *under-foot*, but Commanded all the other States of *Greece*, while he stood upon his Feet.

The deserv'd Panegyrick of this *Great Soul*, had almost made me forget the other Instance of too great forwardness in pursuing a Flying Enemy, which prov'd Fatal to the General of a Victorious Army; namely, the rash Engagement of that Gallant Young Nobleman *Gaston of Foix*, Nephew to *Lewis* the XIIIth. of *France*: for tho' he obtain'd a glorious Victory for his King, at the Battel of *Ravenna*; yet by pursuing the flying Enemy too far beyond the place of Battel, he unhappily engag'd with a Troop of *Spaniards* that had rally'd again, and so lost the Fruit of  
P the



the Victory and his own Life. Nay, the Indiscretion of some General Persons, in pursuing a broken Wing of the Enemy too far, has often occasion'd the Loss of their own Army; for which, we need not Travel to *Asia* to find the Error of King *Demetrius*, who, by following a fugitive Wing of the Confederate Army too many Miles, was the occasion of the loss of his Father's Life and Army; since *Britain* hath afforded too many Tragical Instances of this Nature: Was not Prince *Rupert* as Gallant a Man as was in his Age, and more Generous than his Elder Brother; yet he may be truly said, to have contributed, not a little, to the Ruin of his *Royal Uncle*, by his foolish *Precipitation*, both at *Marston Moor*, and *Naseby*: for 'tis not enough to carry all before such a Commanding Officer, like an impetuous Torrent, unless he look opportunely behind him, to see how it fares with the rest of his own Army: And methinks, his miscarriage, at the first Engagement, might have Documented him better before the next; but it seems some fierce and fiery Spirits are out of their own Element, when elevated above the Sphere of a *Major-General*.

It is also very observable, That, tho' a multitude of Instances can be given of Armies, whose Hearts were in their *Heels*, as soon as they were generally inform'd, That *the Heart*, or General of the Army was Dead; yet 'tis very rare to find Examples, where the *Body Politick* have prevail'd over the opposite Army, after the *Head* was cut off: And such as can be produc'd, will be found imputable to the happy ignorance of the unfortunate Loss of their General. Thus it far'd with the *Swedish Army*,



Army, which obtain'd the Victory over the Imperialists at *Lutzen*, even after the loss of their Great *Gustavus*; for that was not universally known till the Battel was over: And so it was at *Ottoburn*, nigh *Newcastle*, where the *Piercies* were Defeated by that little Army of the Earl of *Douglafs*, as Gallant a Man as ever was in that great Family, or any other: This General having receiv'd a mortal Wound, in the midst of the Fight, retir'd privately to his Tent, and calling for some of his Friends, told them, *He was just a Dying, and therefore requir'd them to conceal his Death from his Army, lest it should discourage them:* As in all probability it would, if his Advice had not been follow'd, for such was the Affection and high Respect of all the Soldiers to that *Great Soul*, that they generally look'd upon themselves as Vanquish'd, when they heard of his Death, even after they had obtain'd the Victory, The like Counsel was given by *Abdelmelech*, that Incomparable *Xeriff* of *Morocco*, at the battel of *Alcazar Guer*, where *Sebastian* the King of *Portugal*, and *Mahomet*, whom he came to Aid, were both kill'd; and 'twill put any Historian to his Peremptors, to find such another Instance of three Kings, Dying all upon the Scene of Battel, unless he go back to those petty Royetelets of *Canaan*, in the Days of *Joshua*: but *Abdelmelech* had the stroak of Death within, by a burning Fever, before he came to that fatal Field; yet so long as he could possibly be kept on Horseback, he rode up and down to see his Army well Marshall'd; there being great Necessity for it, because his Brother

P 2

*Hamet,*



*Hamet* was a Simple Man, and far inferior to his Brother's Spirit: but when he found himself in the Agony of Death, he gave Order to be laid in a close Litter, under pretence of getting some Ease by Sleep; and lest his Army should be dishearten'd, when they heard of his Death, he shut the Door within, and Dy'd peaceably, without Witnesses; neither did his Brother know of it, till he came to give him Account of his great Victory: So Brave a Prince he was, that he wanted nothing but the Christian Religion, to make him one of the greatest Heroes in the World. I might also here Instance *Pelopidas* the Theban, *Philopemon* the Achaean, and *Marcellus* the Roman Consul; all which, tho' very Brave, lost themselves by Temerity; but cannot insist upon 'em.

\* *Viz. Falix*  
*Temeritas* above men-  
tioned.

Yet before I end this Particular, 'tis necessary to remove an Objection, against this Prudential Rule, taken from the Example of *Alexander the Great* and *Julius Caesar*; who, tho' Renown'd through the World for their Courage and Conduct, yet in all their Engagements, were most Adventurous Generals: As for the first, none can doubt of his Courage, unless it be said to have degenerated into Temerity; which was a Reflection on his Conduct, and a previous Justification of that inglorious \* Epithet, wherewith *Seneca* said he was attended, all his Days; especially at the City of the *Mallians* in *India*, where he Acted, rather like a Madman, than a Prudent Prince, and Wise General; in *Leaping down*, the first of all his Army, from the Wall amongst the midst of his Enemies, only with two *Macedonians* for his Guard; and thus was more Happy than



*than Wise*, in being brought off with his Life : For which rash Attempt he is much blam'd by *Arrianus* and *Curtius*, and no less by *Plutarch*, tho' he wrote a large Treatise concerning his Fortitude. As for *Julius Caesar*, he was indeed a Prince of as great Courage and Presence of Mind as any, and never so foolish in his Conduct, as *Alexander* often was ; yet *Necessity*, which *bath no Law*, enforc'd him sometimes to Adventure his Person very far: as at *Dyrrachium*, when *Pompey the Great* had sent forth his Army to their very Camp, and, as *Caesar* afterwards observ'd, might have ended the War that very Day, if he had known how to make the right use of that great Advantage Fortune had given him : But he was never so much put to it, as at the City *Munda* in *Spain*, by the Young Sons of *Pompey* ; so that this *Old General*, when he came weary to his Tent, after the Defeat of the *Pompeians*, told his Friends, *That in all his former Engagements, he fought only for Victory ; but in this at Munda, he had fought for his Life* : Which was the last of two and fifty Battels he had gain'd, and the last he ever fought.

The VIIth. EVIDENCE of Prudence in a Generous Prince, is to deal Humanely with an Enemy, when he finds a Lawful War prospering in his Hand : It was a Noble Saying of *Scipio Africanus*, *That he had rather preserve the Life of one of his own Army, than destroy a thousand Enemies* : And yet a Nobler of *Lucullus*, *That he had rather save the Life of one Citizen, than gain all that the Enemies had in their Power*. And when ever the most Clement Dictator was engag'd against Romans, he



us'd to warn his Soldiers, to spare the Lives of the Citizens. Nay, a Moderate and Clement Prince, is not only ready to spare the Blood of his own, but also of his Enemies, unless extream Necessity constrain him to do otherways: Thus *Titus Vespasian*, tho' a Pagan, many times held up his Hands to Heaven, as *Josephus* testifies, and Attested the Gods, That the foolish Obstinacy of the Jews, enforc'd him to destroy so many of 'em, by Sword and Famine, sore against his Will. This mention of the Heathen Gods, minds me of a great Objection, the Pagans at Rome urged against the Christian Religion, when *Alarick* with his *Goths* took in their City, An. 410. This, said they, was a just Judgment upon the Romans, for abandoning the Worship of the Gods, who had made their Empire so great and prosperous. St. *Austin*, in his Learned Treatise *De civitate Dei*, written purposely against such Pagan Objections, Answers this very pertinently, "That when the *Gauls* seized upon  
 " Rome, tho' both the Victors and Vanquish'd  
 " Ador'd those Pagan Gods; yet the *Gauls*  
 " spar'd none of the Romans, who fled into  
 " the Heathen Temples; but *Alarick* with his  
 " Army spar'd all those, who had taken San-  
 " ctuary in the Christian Churches, not only  
 " their Lives, but also the Goods they had  
 " brought thither with them, because the  
 " *Goths* were Christians themselves, tho' un-  
 " happily infected with the *Arian* Heresy: Yea, he farther upbraids them with the Cru-  
 elty of *Dioclesian* a Pagan Emperor, who caus'd burn a Church at *Nicomedia* with many thousand Christians in it, for no other Provocation, but that they were Assembled there



to Celebrate the Anniversary of the Nativity of the Son of God.

It were easy to make appear, by many Instances, that *To shew Mercy to Enemies is an Act of Prudence, and gains much upon their Affections.* I shall only take notice of this one; namely, the Practice of that Excellent Prince *Alphonſus* the Vth. of *Arragon*, who laying Siege to the City *Cajeta*, term'd the *Key of the Kingdom of Naples*, the Garrison fearing want of Bread, in ſo long a Blockade, and being reſolv'd to hold out to an Extremity, drove out of the Town all that were very Old, or very Young of both Sexes, with the moſt part of Females; as ſuch, who behoved to Subſiſt, and could give them no Aſſiſtance: the moſt of the *Arragonian* Council Advis'd, to drive them all in again, as a true piece of Policy to make the City yield the ſooner, by the ſpeedier conſumption of their Victuals; and I remember, *Antonius Panormita*, in his large *Panegyrick* on this Prince, confeſſeth, *It was his own Opinion*: but that truly moſt *Chriſtian King*, answer'd, *That he was bound in Conſcience to praſtiſe a part of Chriſtian Politicks on that Occaſion, in taking Compaſſion on the Miſerable; and that ſo effectually, as to relieve their Neceſſities, when we are in a Capacity to do it*: He therefore order'd to give them all Meat; and allow'd them the Liberty to go whither they pleas'd, and thus concluded, *That he had rather never ſet his Foot in Cajeta, tho' he had a moſt juſt Title to it, than be acceſſory to the perishing of any of thoſe miſerable, but innocent Creatures.* And from the Event, we may evidently perceive, the Infinite Goodneſs ſuffers not ſuch good



Works to go unrewarded, even in this Life: For what the Sword of *Alphonfus* could not do, his Generosity effected; the *Cajetans* being so Enamour'd with it, that they open'd their Gates without any farther Compulsion.

This Example, in its greatest Lines, resembles a much older Story, which fell out in the Days of *Furius Camillus*, when he was Besieging a Town of the *Falisci*: A Villainous Schoolmaster deliver'd all the considerable Male-Children of the City into the Hands of the Consul, but he very Generously sent them all back, safe and sound; and this produced the same Effect as before-mention'd: But the Story being well known, I shall not insist upon it. Nor shall I here take occasion to tax the great Inhumanity of some Princes, who delighted in the Effusion of Human Blood; delaying till I come to Treat of *Clemency*, (as a Species of *Temperance*,) with its opposite, the base Vice of *Cruelty*: Yet having lately mention'd that *Watch-word* of the Noble *Cæsar* to all his Armies, *Spare the Citizens*; I cannot forbear, even here, to Instance one, who may be term'd his direct *Antipodes*, namely, the Cruel Emperor *Vitellius*, who, when he cross'd the *Alps*, being curious to see those Heaps of Dead Bodies, which had belong'd to the Emperor *Otho*, and were slain by the Lieutenants of *Vitellius*, at the Fight of *Bebriacum*, lying unbury'd; some advis'd him, not to go thither in regard of their noisome Stench; but he most Inhumanely answer'd, *That nothing was more refreshful to him, than the smell of a dead Enemy, especially a dead Citizen.*



The VIIIth EVIDENCE of Prudence in a Generous Prince, is to make a right Improvement of good Success in a Just War: For it cannot be presum'd that a great Victory can be obtain'd, over a considerable Adversary, without great expence of Blood and Treasure, unless by Miracle; which is not, now a-days, to be expected: So that he who neglects to prosecute a Victory to the best Advantage, may justly say, *I have labour'd in vain, and spent my strength for nought and in vain.* It was a deserv'd Reprehension given by *Maharbal* to the Famous *Hannibal*, *Vincere scis Hannibal, Victoria uti nescis*; because he went not immediately towards *Rome* after the Battel of *Cannæ*, the greatest Defeat the *Romans* ever got from any Nation: for had he speedily advanc'd thither, during that great Consternation for the loss of so many thousand of their Bravest Citizens, it is highly probable, he might have pull'd up the *Roman State* by the very Roots, as the Judicious *Raleigh* expresseth it; but suffering his Irons to cool, by his Personal Amours at *Salapia*, and the Effeminacy of his whole Army at *Capua*, he permitted the Enemy to recover Spirit and Strength: And this gave occasion to the *Romans* to say, *That the Pleasures of Capua, had been another Cannæ to the Carthaginians*: So that his unseasonable approach to *Rome*, long after that bloody Battel, serv'd only to discover his Weakness, and to make him Ludibrious in the Eyes of his Adversaries; for thereby he was so far from effectuating his Design of raising the Siege of *Capua*, that the Senate ordered a considerable number of the Inhabitants of *Rome*, as Recruits to their Forces in *Spain*, to March out



out at the Port opposite to his Encamping, as if there had been too many within, to Confront such an enfeebled Enemy without: not to speak of the selling that piece of Ground whereon he was Encamp'd, at as dear a rate as ever; the Purchaser knowing very well, that the *intruding Tenant* could not long keep Possession there: So that the affronted *Carthaginian* was fain to retire, and lurk amongst the *Brutii*, till he was call'd home by his *Masters* at *Carthage*, to see the Ruin of his Native Country. But whether at Home or Abroad, no doubt, he frequently utter'd the sence of these Words of the Poet:

*O mihi præteritos referat si Jupiter annos.*

The fittest Parallel, I know, to this Supine Negligence of *Hannibal*, is the Misimprovement of the great Naval Victory at *Lepanto*, obtain'd by some Confederate Princes and States over the *Turks*, nigh those Islands, or rather great Rocks, term'd by the Ancients *Echinades*: That the *Infidels* suffer'd there a great Loss, may appear from a Computation of the many Thousand *Turks*, kill'd and taken Prisoners, and the great number of their Gallies sunk, or taken: But where, I pray, was the Fruit of this great Victory? *Philip* the II<sup>d</sup>. of *Spain*, the Principal in the Confederacy, was indeed much to blame in for-flowing the Aid promised to the *Venetians* for Relief of *Cyprus*: but that being lost, before *Don John* of *Austria* could be drawn to join the *Venetians*, with the Forces of the Pope and Duke of *Florence*; of all which, he was chief Admiral and General; when they press'd him to endeavour the recovery



recovery of that Island, or to seize upon something of the *Turk's* equivalent to that Loss, which might easily have been done; nay, such was the Consternation at the *Port*, upon the Report of that great Defeat, that if the Christians had made haste, they might have done much to have got Possession of *Constantinople* it self: Instead of making any such Attempt, he hastened home to his Winter-Quarters, or rather, to prosecute his Ambitious Designs of becoming King of *Tunis*: which so alarum'd his too jealous Legitimate Brother, that, to the Dishonour of *Christendom*, he suffer'd the *Turks* to re-gain both *Tunis* and the strong Fort of *Gouletta*, which his Father *Charles* the Vth. had Conquer'd with so much Glory.

And 'tis worth while to reflect a little on the particular Scene of the Christians Victory over the *Turks*, as an Aggravation of their Supine Negligence, in not making a better use of that great Advantage: *Lepanto*, is not far from the Promontory of *Actium*, where *Augustus* gave a fatal Defeat to the Navy of *Mark Antony*, as if that Place had been mark'd out to be the Stage of eminent Actions; but 'tis very observable, That *Augustus* did so Prudently prosecute his Victory, that he made himself entire Lord and Master of the *Roman* Empire: But *Don John*, had more Pride than Wit, and more natural Courage than Conduct, or true Generosity, as appears from his Prefidious Dealings in the *Netherlands*, long after the Battel of *Lepanto*; his Misconduct whereof cannot be better represented, than was done Metaphorically by a Witty Captive *Turk* at *Venice*; who, hearing the *Venetians* compare the Damage of the

Turks



*Turks at Lepanto*, as equivalent to that of the *Venetians* in the Loss of *Cyprus*; answered, *You are in a great mistake; for the Turkish Loss is only like to the shaving of the Head or Beard, which will soon grow again, and thicker than before; but the Loss of Cyprus, is like the Amputation of a Leg or Arm, which will never Cement again without a Miracle.* And in this, he was a true Prophet; for *Selimus* the II<sup>d</sup>. next Year, Rigg'd out such a numerous Fleet, that the poor *Venetians*, finding their Confederates like a Foot out of Joint, were necessitated to make a dishonourable Peace with the *Turk*, by quitting their Pretensions to *Cyprus*, to which, they had but a *Sham-title*; namely, a pretended Donation from a Noble *Venetian* Lady, Relict to *James the Bastard*, who, by the help of the *Mam-malucks* of *Ægypt*, had Usurp'd it from his Legitimate Sister *Carlotte*, sole Daughter and Heir to *John* the II<sup>d</sup>. the last Lawful King of the Family of *Lusignan*, who was first Marry'd to the Prince of *Portugal*, and next to the Prince of *Savoy*; but none of these Allies had the Power to unneettle the *Venetians*, till a more Powerful Prince than both, took the Work in hand, pretending also a Right to that Island, from their Conquest of *Ægypt*, to the Sultans whereof it had indeed been Tributary since the Days of *Melechnaser*.

The IX<sup>th</sup>. EVIDENCE of Prudence in a Generous Prince, is to deal Generously with those he hath Subdu'd. He, who is very severe to the feeblest Sex and Age, must needs be Cowardly as well as Cruel; Children themselves being ready to observe, That whoever takes delight to oppress Women and young



young Ones, dares not look a Man in the Face : But true *Heroick Fortitude* not only commiserates the Condition of all such ; but also prompts them to have due Respect and Compassion for all his principal Opposers, when they fall in his Power; being still mindfull of that of the *Roman Orator*, *Homo qui in homine Calamitoso est misericors, meminit sui* ; which imports, That such is the Vicissitude of Fortune, that *what is our Enemies Fate to Day, may be ours to Morrow* : Which Consideration, put a seasonable stop to the Insolency of the famous *Sesostris* of *Ægypt*, who caus'd 4 Captive Kings to draw his Chariot, till at last, one of 'em desir'd *Sesostris* to observe, *How Vertiginous Fortune was, by the rapid motion of the Chariot Wheels* : This was a more honourable Lesson of Morality, than that Instruction which was given by *Lucullus* and *Pompey the Great*, to that Vain and Cowardly King of *Armenia* : And if it was true, That one of the *Saxon* Kings employ'd as many Captive Princes to Waft his Royal Barge over the River *Dee*, he also stood in need to be so Instructed; and that such an Insolent Act was possible, in some Ages of the World, may be easily granted, when *Britain* alone, had no fewer than 14 Kings at one time, 5 of which, were found in *Wales*.

The practice of *Sapores* King of *Persia* was yet worse, because more inhumane ; to make a footstool of *Valerian* a *Roman* Emperour, when he mounted his Horse, for which end he was carry'd about in an Iron Cage ; and herein he was the more miserable, that his Son *Galienus* never offer'd to relieve him. 'Tis undeniable that the great *Tamerlane* treated  
the



\* *Viz.* parcerere subje-  
ctis & debellare Super-  
bos

the *Turkish* Sultan, *Bajazet* the first, at the same Ignominious rate, yet not without great provocation; that great Emperour having much of the noble wrath of the *Lyon* in his martial Breast\*; and *Bajazet* being of such a proud and fierce Nature, that he was fitly termed a *Tyger*, fast or loose: And some Historians declare, that *Tamerlane* was at first resolved to have used him no less generously, than *Alexander the Great* did that *Indian* King *Porus*, when he became his Prisoner; and 'tis probable he would have done so, had he returned as civil an Answer as *Porus* did to *Alexander*: but in lieu of telling *Tamerlane*, *He would use him Royally if he was in his Power*, (this being the question, that *Valiant Scythian* propos'd) He was so maliciously foolish to answer, *that he would serve him as Saporess did Valerian*; that 'cruel Infidel not being a Stranger to prophane History: well, reply'd *Tamerlane*, *you have pronounced your doom out of your own Mouth, so shall you be served*; and within those Iron Walls he was still immur'd, till he dashed out his Brains upon 'em. But *Alexander* finding the short, but substantial answer of *Porus*, full of discretion, he most generously comply'd with his Desire, giving him all Princely usages, and not only restor'd him his Kingdom, but also greatly enlarg'd it.

They are yet more Cruel, who bereave their Captives of their Lives, as did that Papal Monarch *Charles* of *Anjou*, to Young *Conradin* Prince of *Suaben* and true heir of *Naples*, who lost his Head in the Capital City of his Kingdom, after twelve Months Imprisonment; a most Vile Act, and the more invidious on  
*Charles's*



Charles's part, because committed in cold Blood: nor could the Sanguinary Pope's saying, *That the Life of Conradin was the Death of Charles*, justify that Usurper, before God or Man: the *Sicilian* Usurpers which followed shortly afterwards, with the most infamous Whores (descended from his Loynes) that ever were in any Family, being sufficient indications of God's displeasure, with one who had inverted *Ahab's* Wickedness, by *possedisti & occidisti*. Neither can the famous Queen *Elizabeth*, tho' a Lady of very great Vertues, be altogether excus'd for imbruing her Hands in the Blood of a Sovereign Princess, not Captivated in War, but as a Suppliant begging Relief: no doubt *Q. Mary of Scotland*, was ill advised in her Matrimonial Contracts, and in fleeing thither for shelter, where she had formerly given occasion of so great distast; yet to Queen *Elizabeth's* practice in that Tragical Conduct, *Seneca's* observation, concerning *Alexander the Great*, may be fitly aply'd; who enumerating the laudable qualities of that Conquerour, adds to every period, *occidit tamen Calistinem*: The great error of that *Masculine Princess*, being, the discovery of the *arcana Imperii*, which were always formerly presum'd to import, *that it was the highest Sacrilege to shed the Blood of a Sovereign Prince, upon any pretence whatsoever.*

There are other Victorious Princes, tho' not so inhumane to their *Royal* Prisoners, yet the *Plagiarian* Merchandise they have made of their purchase, is inconsistent with true Generosity: I know not any Kingdom in *Europe*, wherein this Trade hath been so frequently exercised as on the scene of *Britain*, to which  
the



the foolish compliance of the *Scots* with the *French* Counsels afforded too frequent occasion; for by that influence, King *William*, surnamed the *Lion*, was hurried into the *English* Toiles, and released by K. *Henry* the II<sup>d</sup>, at a very dear rate, tho' his Son *Richard* the I, surnamed *Cœur de Lion*, more generous than the Father, remitted a great part of that Ransom, when he went to the *Holy-land*. King *David* the II<sup>d</sup>. Surnam'd *Bruce*, was also thus expos'd to Sale, in the Days of *Edward* the III<sup>d</sup>, and it was his Destiny to meet at *London* with his Instigator King *John* of *France*, sent Prisoner thither by *Edward* the *Black Prince*: But tho' none of these simple Princes had Spirit to resent their high Price of Redemption; yet the Son of King *John*, deservedly term'd *Charles the Wise*, fail'd not to do it, when the Father was Old, and the Gallant Prince was Dead; for *Edward* had just ground to say, *That such was the Politick Conduct of Young Charles, that he had almost unkennell'd all the English out of France, without ever drawing his Sword against 'em.*

King *James* the Ist, of *Scotland*, when very Young, was also made Prisoner in *England*, not by chance of War, but in time of Peace; whose unjust Restraint, may be fitly compar'd to the Incursions of the *Tartars* on *Pole*, or *Muscovy*, to Captivate some Boys or Girls, to be Sold at the Port, where there is a Weekly Market of them; for this Young Prince was design'd for *France*, by his disconsolate Father, King *Robert* the III<sup>d</sup>, before call'd *John*, tho' he prov'd as Unfortunate after the alteration, as either *John* of *England* or *France*; but fearing his Son might be driven by stress  
of



of Weather, on the Coast of *England*, he sent a long Letter along with him; narrating, That his Eldest Son had been starv'd to Death, by his Unnatural Uncle, (the Cruel Duke of *Albany*, who rul'd all, the Father, tho' King, being but a Cypher) and fearing the same bloody Fate was abiding the other, if he abode any longer in his unhappy Native Country, he obtested King Henry the IVth. by all that was Sacred, to take Compassion on an afflicted innocent Young Prince: In short, if we believe *Hector Boyes*, it was so Pathetically stuffed with ruthless Expressions, that it might have mollify'd a Heart of Stone; yet King Henry remain'd unmoveable: Which Report of the Son's Captivity, in few Hours broke the Heart of the miserable Father: neither could he have liv'd by the course of Nature till his Restoration, being eighteen Years Prisoner, and then releas'd in the Minority of the Grandchild of that Usurping Prince, *i. e.* Henry the VIth. who met with greater Miseries in the Bowels of his own Kingdom, than a stranger Prince had suffer'd; for it cannot be deny'd, that he was allow'd such a Princely Education in all the Liberal Sciences, that, according to the *Scots* Historians, he became the most Learned Prince of the Age: Yet it is no less certain, that he pay'd very dear for his Lessons.

The fittest Parallel to this unjust Captivity, was that of *Richard* the Ist. of *England*; who being Shipwreck'd on the Coasts of *Dalmatia*, in his return from the *Holy-land*, and resolving to go home privately by Land, was taken Prisoner by the Duke of *Austria*, and not releas'd without a grievous Ransom; which, as



some say, helped to build the Walls of *Vienna*; tho' he got not all that Money, *Henricus Asper*, the *German* Emperor, having such sharp *Claws* that he made him go Snips with him: Nay, so great was that Ransome, that it could not be rais'd in all *England*, till the Clergy consented that their Gold and Silver Chalice should be Coin'd, the more speedily to Redeem their well belov'd King: and till they could arrive at their former Splendor, it was order'd by a National Council, That the Chalice should be of Latten, and not of Iron, for its rust; not of Brass or Copper, for a bad relish; nor of Glas, lest it should be broken, and spill the Blood of Christ. But here I cannot forbear to admire the profound Silence of the Popes, during all the time of that *Royal* Incarceration; for if it had been one of their Cardinals, or some eminent Church-man, I'm confident, they would have Clamour'd no less, and have been as ready to Excommunicate, with Bell, Book and Candle, the greatest Princes in *Europe*, for Imprisoning a Son of the Church; as was Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, when he heard that *Henry* the III'd of *France* had put in *Firmance* the Cardinal of *Burbon* and the Arch-bishop of *Lions*: Suppose, they had not been engag'd in such a Religious and Zealous Imployment, as the recovery of the *Holy-Land* out of the Hands of the *Infidels*: But their Supine Negligence in the Quarrel of that Gallant King of *England*, made the World, even then, believe, That the frequent Publication of those *Croisado's*, was meerly a Carnal Policy, under the Varnish of Piety, to remove Christian Princes  
out



out of *Europe*, that the Popes might *Domin*eer there without Controul.

I shall only add another Instance of a King, who was a real Prisoner of War, *viz.* *Francis* the 1st. of *France*, taken at *Pavia*, transported to *Spain*, and from thence Released on very hard Terms: if the Generous Advice, given to *Charles* the Vth. by one of his Council in *Spain*, had been comply'd with, no doubt, *Francis*, who was very Generous, would have been persuaded, while he liv'd, to subscribe himself, *the oblig'd Friend of Charles*: But following rather the severe Counsel of the Cruel Duke *d'Alva*, always a stranger to the proper Methods of Peace and Amity, he sent home *Francis* with such a Disgust, that neither he, nor his Successors could ever digest it: being still ready on all occasions, to weaken the Descendants of *Charles*, by aiding the Revolters against 'em, till at last, according to *Nostra-damus's* Prediction, *France hath swallow'd up Spain*. Yet 'tis observable that *Charles* had a greater Deference for *Francis* than for the Head of his own Church: for during the *French King's* Imprisonment in *Spain*, the Emperor's Army had strictly besieged Pope *Clement* the VIIth in his Castle of *St. Angelo*; whereupon, *Charles* order'd solemn Supplications to be made through all *Spain* for the Pope's Deliverance: A very strange thing, that so Wise a Man as *Charles* really was, did not consider, That this could not but be look'd upon as a meer Mock Supplication; since if he had been a true Son of the Church, instead of the most Catholick King, one Word of his, would have immediately deliver'd his Ghostly Father!



But he was more Civil to the King of *France*, in priviledging him from such *Mockery*. Yet it seems, by his after Deportment, he did not apprehend, the Conditions of Restoration were so disrelishing, as the *French* imagin'd; otherways, 'tis not probable, he would have put himself in their Power in his Passage through *France*, to Reduce the City of *Ghent*, notwithstanding the Safe Conduct he obtain'd: Which occasion'd that well known Jest of the King of *France's* Artificial Fool, who, using every Day to put some or other in his *Kalendar of Fools*; and being ask'd by *Francis*, Whom he had Register'd such a Day? readily answer'd, *The Emperor, for putting himself in the Reverence of one, whom he had so much disoblig'd.* But what if I, said *Francis*, suffer him to go away Scot-free? Why, then, reply'd he, I'll put him out, and you in. As for what is told of Complements the Emperor made to the King's Paramour, and Promises to the Famous Constable *Monmorency*, when he suspected, the King would not prove a Man of his Word, I hardly believe it; in regard, that all the World knew *Francis* to be a very Generous Prince, had he not sully'd both his Generosity and Conscience, by bringing the *Turks* into *Italy*.

I shall now, pursuant to my former Method, give some Instances of Princes, who were very Generous to their Royal Prisoners. I have already hinted at *Alexander's* Deportment towards King *Porus*: I shall now take notice of the great Generosity which one of his Captains unexpectedly found in a Barbarous King; namely, *Lysimachus* the Great King of *Thrace*, who, having unfortunately

run



run himself and his Army, as it were, into a *Hose-net*, (as the *Samnites* found the *Romans*, tho' with a different Event) was forc'd to yield himself, his Crown and Army, to the Mercy of the *Barbarians*, for a little Water to Drink, they being scorch'd with Thirst; and after he had done Drinking, he cry'd out, *O what an Excellent Kingdom have I lost, for a little fleshly Pleasure?* A notable Antidote to all Christians against Voluptuousness! Yet the Barbarous King dealt very Generously with him; for he sent him back to his Kingdom upon very easy Terms.

Having just now mention'd the great Disadvantage, in which the *Samnites* found the *Romans*; before I proceed to another Instance, I cannot forbear to give some account of the Sound and Generous Counsel given at that time by *Herennius* to the *Samnites*: he was Father to *Pontius* their General; but being so Old that he could not be with the Army, his Son sent and enquir'd his Advice, as a Person well skill'd in the Arts of War and Peace, *What they should do with the Roman Army, then absolutely at their Devotion, being so coop'd up within impassible Mountains, that they must either starve where they were, or yield to their Mercy?* He return'd this Answer, *That it would be found by Experience, both Honourable and Profitable for the Samnites to lay hold upon such an excellent occasion, the like whereof they might never expect again, to gratify the Romans, by dismissing their Army freely without Ransom; for knowing them to be a very Generous People, he was convinc'd they would never forget that Kindness:* But this Opinion appearing to have too much



of Lenity in it, in the Eyes of raw and violent young Heads; they Consulted him again: then he told them, *That if they would not comply with his first Advice, which, he still reckon'd the best; he would next Advise them, to cut them all off; for if, said he, ye put an ignominious Brand upon 'em, and do no more; these very Men, whom ye thus Affront, will assuredly return, at farthest, next Year, with an infinite Resentment, and never give over till they have sufficiently repair'd their Honour.* But the foolish *Samnites* not having Brains to reconcile such seemingly Contradictory Counsels; and concluding, The Old Man was come to the Years of *Dotage*, resolv'd upon the Infamous *furca Caudina*, to their own Ruin in the end: For thereby the *Romans* were so highly provok'd, that the very next Year, they fully verifi'd *Herennius's* Prediction upon his Son, and the whole Body of his foolish Nation.

The other promis'd Instance may be term'd the Parallel of the former, almost in all its Circumstances: for it concerns a Barbarous Infidel Prince, Extending his Generosity to a Great Monarch; I mean, *Romanus Diogenes*, a *Greek* Emperor and a Christian, who being made Prisoner by *Oxan* Son to *Tangrolipix*; that Famous King of *Persia*, was very Generously sent home by him, without any Ransom. But least it be said, That Infidels outvy Christians in this kind of Generosity, I shall give one Example of a Generous Christian Prince, which exceeds all the former; and I confess, I find not such another in all my Budget; that which comes nighest to it, was the Generosity of *Ferdinand* King of



of *Leon* to *Alphonſus* King of *Portugal*, alike in all things, ſave the Declaration of Succeſſion in the Dutchy : The Story is this, *Alphonſus* K. of *Naples*, often before mention'd, under the Title of *Alphonſo* the Vth. of *Arragon*, being taken at Sea by the Navy of *Philip Maria*, that good Duke of *Milan*, with his *German* Brother, and divers of the *Neapolitan* Nobility ; after he was brought to *Milan*, that moſt Chriſtian and Generous Duke receiv'd him, not as a Priſoner, but as a great King come to pay a friendly Viſit, Entertain'd them all very Honourably, and reſtor'd them to Liberty without a Farthing of Ranſom ; tho' *Alphonſus* had offer'd him great things, and declar'd, he would grant whatever the Duke deſir'd, except the deſiſting from the purſuit of his Intereſt in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he could not in Honour grant, ſo many of the Nobility having already declar'd for him, whom he could not abandon to the Malice of their Enemies. But the Generous Duke deſir'd only, That he ſhould enter with him into an Offenſive and Deſenſive League, and when he came to be near his End, he declar'd him his Heir to the great Dutchy of *Milan* : Which tho' really deſign'd, yet was render'd ineffectual by the ſubtil Politicks of the Martial *Sforza*.

The Xth. EVIDENCE of Prudence in a Generous Prince, is Faithfully to obſerve his Promiſes and Lawful Engagements, by way of Capitulation, Accommodation, or Tranſaction, with Friends or Enemies : This was well underſtood by *Sixtus Pompeius*, youngſt Son to *Pompey the Great* ; when he was Treating *Auguſtus*,



*gustus* and *Mark Antony* in his Admiral *Galley*, *Menas* the Pyrate whisper'd him in the Ear, and told, *If he pleas'd to allow him to cut the Cables, he would make him Lord, not only of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman Empire* : After a little Pause, *Pompey* answered, *Thou shouldst have done it and not told me; but we must be content with what we have, for I was never taught to break my Faith, nor to be counted a Traitor.* Fidelity, is not only a Point of Justice, but also of Prudence; and nothing depreciates a Prince more, in the Eyes of all Sober Persons, than to blemish his Honour by falsifying his Word. Yet this is not so to be understood, as if it derogated from the Generosity of a General of an Army, to make use of Warlike Stratagems; the Poet having long ago determin'd that Matter in few Words,

—*Dolus an Virtus, quis in hoste requirat.*

The Famous *Hannibal* was most frequent and successful in Martial Stratagems; yet was never branded by the Romans with the *fides punica*; save for not observing Capitulations made with Forts or Cities before they Surrender'd to him: for when he put many to Death, whom he had Sworn to preserve alive, he was justly term'd, *a faithless Capitulator*, and compar'd to that Greek Captain, who having made Truce with his Enemies for three Days, yet broke in upon 'em the first Night, pretending, he meant an Artificial and not a Natural Day; whereas Pagan Moralists could have told him, *That an Oath is to be understood in the Sence of him to whom it is given.*

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It is a Maxim of Law, *Res favorabiles sunt ampliandæ, odiosæ restringendæ*. The first part of which, is Religiously observ'd by all Generous Princes, being more inclin'd to amplify any promis'd Favour than to abridge it: Thus when the *Tarentines* were constrain'd by *Fabius Maximus* to yield again to the *Romans*, tho' it was no Article of their Surrender, to have their Gods left with them; it being the Custom of the *Romans* to bring all the Idols of Subdu'd Nations, Captives to *Rome*, fondly imagining, they were the better Fortify'd by having such a multiplicity of Gods in their Capital City; so that if we believe the Learned *Varro*, they had no fewer than 30000 Gods of all sorts in his Time: Yet *Fabius* finding the *Tarentines* no less concern'd with the privation of their Gods, than were the *Chinese* of late with the shaving of their Beards when the *Tartars* Subdu'd them, cry'd out very Generously, *Let us leave the Tarentines their angry Gods*. *Augustus Caesar* was justly reckon'd most Generous to that Famous Spanish Pyrate *Caracotta*, in giving him the thousand Crowns, promis'd to any, who should bring him to the Emperor, dead or alive; for some narrow disingenuous Princes, would readily have told him, That the Proclamation was not to be understood of the Robber himself, but of those, who should be at the pains to take him: And thus a Pagan Roman Emperor, was much more Generous than a pretended Christian Head of the Church; I mean, *Sixtus Quintus*, who promis'd a considerable Sum of Money to the Man, who would own himself the Author of that Witty Jest found upon *Marphorio*, when *Pasquin* demanded of him



him, *Why his Shirt was so foul?* He was made to Answer, *Because his Laundress was become a Princess.* For such had the Pope's Sister been before her Brother's Elevation: but most Ingenerously he caus'd cut out the Author's Tongue, after he had given him the Money; and for a silly Excuse told him, *He had promis'd security for his Life, but not for his Members.* Nay, this pretended Head of the Church, was far out-done by another Pagan Prince of an older date than *Augustus*; namely, one of the *Persian* Monarchs *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, who had promis'd 200 Talents to any, who should bring *Themistocles* to him, dead or alive, as being the greatest Enemy the *Persians* then had: Yet when *Themistocles*, like the flying Fish, finding no Security in any Element, adventur'd to present his own Head; that *Persian* Prince very generously told him, *He was his Debtor for 200 Talents*; and heap'd so many Favours on that Noble *Gracian*. that he might well write thus to his Friends, *Perijsssem nisi perijsssem.*

Nor should we forget the famous evidence of Conjugal Love, manifested by the married Wives in one of the Cities of *Germany*, when straitly besieg'd by the Emperor *Conrad* the III<sup>d</sup>. with a design to raze it, for resetting that Rebellious Duke of *Bavaria*, who had given him so much Trouble; yet at last out of Compassion on the Feebler Sex, he condescended, that all the Women should be permitted to remove from the City, with their most precious things truss'd upon their backs; whereby no doubt he understood their Attire, and Jewels; for adorning their Bodies: But these Loyal Wives were so far from preferring their Ornamental Attire,



to the Life of their Husbands, as did that infamous Mother to the unfortunate *Ethelred*, K. of *England*, that despising their vain Jewels and corporal Trinkets, they loaded their backs with nothing but their Husbands; a Burden weighty enough for some of 'em, But Love will creep when it cannot goe: at which strange sight the good Emperour weeped for Pity and Joy, and pardon'd the City, and the Rebellious Duke himself. Somewhat like to this, was the Story of that General, who having sworn not to leave a Dog alive in such a Rebellious City, which was then understood of the utter Extermination of its Inhabitants, but when his wrath was appeased towards the famished Citizens, to put some face on his Oath; gave order to destroy all the Dogs that could be found in it.

I have said enough already of the perfidious disingenuity of Princes, in the black Character, before given, of the present *French* Monarch; yet least any should think him singular in such wretched qualities, I shall here subjoyn some more examples of that nature, not yet touched upon. His double dealing in his allyance with *Spain* puts me in mind of the disingenuous madness of the Emperor *Caracalla*, who, pretending to be Suitor to the King of *Parthia*'s Daughter, and the motion being so far accepted by the said King, that he kept the time and place, where, according to Paction, the Bride was to be solemnly received with a small unarm'd Retinue, as on a Joyful Nuptial Day; was Nevertheless, so basely disingenuous, that instead of taking the Lady by the Hand, he had given private orders to his great Retinue to handle their Arms,  
to



to the ruin of those Persons with whom he dissembled a design of Alliance: for which preposterous Courtship, the Judgment of God did shortly overtake him, and that by a preposterous thrust, which hurry'd his Soul out of his Body. But if that *Parthian* Prince had been seasonably informed of the Bloody Pageanty exhibited by him in *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, a little before his pretended Espousals, I suppose he would have been more Cautious in Dealing or Meeting with him.

Would to God, Hypocrisie had been wholly confin'd to *Asia*; then we should not have found such detestable Acts, of disingenuity among Christian Princes in *Europe*: I begin with *Charles* the Vth. who, by one mistaken letter in the *Dutch* Alphabet, cheated the renowned *Landgrave* of *Hess* of his Liberty: For after the dissolution of the *Smalcaldick* Confederacy, the *Landgrav's* Sons in Law, *Brandenburg*, and *Saxony*, as they themselves thought, and made their Father in Law believe, had so Capitulated for him with the Emperor, that for paying a considerable sum of Money, the imperial *Ban* should be taken off, and that Prince restored to the same State he was in before the War began; as *Sleidan* reports at great length: But notwithstanding of all this, he was constrain'd to trudge after the Emperor's Court and Camp, for the space of five years; which double dealing so incensed the Sons in Law, especially *Maurice* of *Saxony*, tho' the Emperor's great Beneficiary, that they rested not, till they forc'd that disingenuous Prince to Decamp from all *Germany*, where he had been long hated for his Ambition and  
Difin.



Difingenuity, and at laſt became deſpicable in the Eyes of all.

But the moſt bloody Hypocriſie, that ever was acted, will be found on the ſcene of *France*, in the days of *Charles* the IX; who, tho' Young in Years, was old in cloſe ſubtle Malice, eſpecially in making his ſafe conduct, with a pretended Marriage, to become a Coy-duck to fetch in the K. of *Navarr*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the famous Admiral *Coligni*, with many other Lords and Gentlemen of Quality, of the reformed Religion, to their fatal ends: for in one night, many Thouſands, of all Ages and Sexes, were moſt inhumanly Mur-thered at *Paris*, beſides what was done there, and elſewhere through that Kingdom, di-verse days afterwards. Yet ſo diſingenuous was this bloody Young Prince, that after the Admiral had received the ſhot, which miſs'd his Heart but wounded him very ill, he came to viſit him, calling him (as formerly) *Father*, and *pro-teſting*, with a great deal of ſeeming Sorrow and Reſentment, *That if he could find the Plot-ters and Actors of that Villany, they ſhould not eſcape Condi- gn Punishment*; tho' none knew better than himſelf who had given the Or-der; and in few days afterwards, order'd the ſhedding of the reſidue of his Blood: with which diſingenuous Arts of Hellish Cruelty the old preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*, Fa-ther to the more famous Mr. *de Thou*, was ſo diſſatisfy'd, that tho' he dy'd in the *Roman* Church, yet whenever he thought upon that *Black day*, which he had ſeen, he exclaimed in the Words of the Poet, *Statius*,

*Excidat illa dies Avo, &c.*

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In such a complication of Murders there were no doubt, many Actors and Approvers; and therefore it will not be amiss to give some account of the most considerable Persons, thus concern'd in that *Horrid Tragedy*: I begin with the Duke of *Guise*, a principal Plotter, Actor and Applauder of it; he stay'd indeed below in the Court, when the Admiral was murther'd in his Chamber, but he sent up Assassines for that effect, and order'd them, after the Hellish Work was done, to throw the Dead Body over the Window, that he might glut his Eyes with that Bloody spectacle, and then, most ingenerously and inhumanely, kick'd him with his Foot in the Face, tho' he was sure a Dead Body was past all sense of such Indignities: But little did he consider, that a time was coming, when he himself should be dispatch'd out of the World, as ignominiously, in the very Chamber of the Castle of *Blois*, where that horrid Massacre was first Plotted; and that by order of the insignificant Prince K. *Henry* the 3d. who, under the title of the Duke of *Anjou*, had been a great Complotter with him. Nay, if some Historians may be believed, the said *Henry* was Assassinated, by that *Jacobin Monk Clement*, in that very place where the Plotters had renewed their Consultation concerning that infamous Massacre.

The Persons next to be taken notice of in this Tragical Action, were divers Ladies about Court, who on this occasion, became too prodigal of their Honour, tho' afterwards term'd *Maids of Honour*; for as soon as the naked Bodies of those Noble Men and Gentlemen, thus Barbarously Murther'd, were expos'd at the Gate of the *Louvre*, by order of that Cruel Prince,



Prince, as if he design'd to transform his Palace to the Shambles of the *Caribee* Islands; these *Impudent Women*, Transgressing all the bounds of Modesty, came tripping thither, and view'd the dead Bodies all over, as unconcernedly as a modest Lady would do a fair *Indian* Feather Picture: From which shameless Deportment, we may learn these two Lessons:

1. That Modesty being the Essential Ornament of the Female Sex, when it is laid aside, of all Creatures under Heaven, they become most Impudent. And 2, That no better can be expected, even in a Royal Family, where King and Queen are perversely Wicked. In this, I design no Reflection on the Wife of Charles the IXth, who was, indeed, a Chaste and Virtuous Lady, and greatly displeas'd with that Massacre; as being the Daughter of that Moderate and Peaceable Prince, *Maximilian* the Ild. of Germany; but I mean, that *Infernal Fury*, *Katharine* of Medices, the Queen Mother, who, as Sir Fr. Bacon observes, of the Dutcheß of Burgundy; Had the Spirit of a Man, but the Malice of a Woman; which was very intense in that Massacre, and many other State Affairs.

*M. de Thou* gives two Evidences of her Malice against the dead Admiral; for having found, among his Papers, a Memorial written by him, at the King's desire, who pretended, he admir'd his Wisdom, as one of the Solideß Noblemen in his Kingdom; and thus that Dissembling Prince Hypocris'd with him, a little before the intended Massacre; the Admiral thinking he was in earnest, as a Faithful Subject, gave his Advice in that Memorial, in reference to two Particulars: The 1st concern'd  
the



the Portions of Brothers in the Royal Family. It was the Admiral's Opinion, *That none of 'em should be too Great; and that it was the safest course to give them an Honourable Annuity out of the Exchequer, rather than Dutchie or Counties, to be absolutely manag'd by them; it being a great Error in Charles the Vth. tho' Surnam'd the Wise, to grant such a Portion to his Brother, as the Dutchy of Burgundy; whereas the other Method would still keep them dependant upon the Crown.* The Queen Mother having read this part of the Memorial, call'd for her youngest Son, afterwards Duke of Anjou and Brabant, and bid him, *Consider, what a Friend he had of the Man he so much ador'd?* For the Respect he bore to the Admiral, was so well known, that the destructive Plot was carefully conceal'd from him, least he should have acquainted the Admiral with it: To which, the Young Prince answer'd very Discreetly and Prudently, *I know not, if the Admiral had any particular Kindness for me; but I always honour'd him for his great Parts, and will do while I live and whatever Younger Brothers may think of his Advice, sure I am, he hath thereby shewen his cordial Respect to the Eldest Brother of France.*

The other Particular concern'd the States of Holland, then Revolted from King Philip the IId. because instead of Governing them, as a Duke of Brabant, a Count of Flanders, and Earl of Holland were bound to doe, he had Tyrannized over 'em as a Lawless King whose Arbitrary Will had made a common foot ball of their Priviledges, pretending to a dispensing Power with all their Laws, notwithstanding



standing he had solemnly Sworn to observe them. The Admiral therefore advis'd the King of France, *to take that Occasion to break the Tyrannical Force of Spain, so formidable to all Europe, by giving seasonable Aid to the Hollanders; otherways, subjoin'd he, if you disregard them in this their Extremity, they will not fail desperately to throw themselves into the Arms of England; and how prejudicial that may be to the Interest of France, I leave it to your self to judge; for she, who sits at that Helm, being a very Active Princess, if once she get Footing on your Border, may not only recover Calais, but also Claim some great Counties and Dutchies in France, which did undoubtedly belong to England; nay, at last may seek after the Crown it self, to which, they pretend a Title by Descent, since the Days of their Edward the III<sup>d</sup>. and by Conquest also, since the Time of their Victorious King Henry the V<sup>th</sup>.*

Having read this part of the Memorial, she call'd in great haste for Secretary Walsingham, then Ambassador for Queen Elisabeth, and desir'd him to peruse that Memorial, where he would find a Demonstration of the Admiral's Gratitude to his Queen, for the many Favours she had conferr'd upon him: That Wise Secretary, answer'd like himself, to the same purpose, but more plainly and fully, as did the Young Prince: *Madam, said he, The Queen of England, still look'd upon my Lord Coligni, as a Good and Wise Man, and a Loyal Subject, notwithstanding the Calumnies unjustly thrown upon him by Bigots, Parasites, and Factions Persons; whereby, he was brought to such a fatal End: And 'tis most evident, from this Memorial, that he has manifested so*  
R much



*much Honesty, and Cordial Respect for his Prince; that what the Roman Senator, said to Valentinian the III<sup>d</sup>, when he caus'd Murder his Gallant General Ætius, I'm afraid, may be here apply'd; That the King hath cut off his own Right Hand with his left; For, I very much doubt, if the Admiral hath left behind him such a Judicious and Faithful Counsellor in all France: Which free and unexpected Answer, put her exceedingly out of Countenance, if it was possible to put on a Courser one, than what she naturally had.*

But she was much more confounded, when the Trustee of the Protestants, not long after, spoke so boldly to her; for Divine Providence had rais'd some *Phenixes*, as it were, out of the Ashes of the Admiral, to stand to their Defence against the Illegal Violences of their implacable Enemies: This Ambassador for the *Reform'd*, coming to Court to see the Articles of that new Capitulation solemnly Ratify'd, demanded of the Queen Mother, *What assurance the King would give them, that he would faithfully observe these new Articles? What other can you desire,* answered she, *than the King's Word?* The Trustee immediately reply'd, *No, Madam; no, by St. Bartholomew, we will not rest satisfy'd with the King's Word, or Oath: alluding, to the 24 of August, the Day of the Massacre, it being the Anniversary of that Saint's Spiritual Nativity; for so the Ancients accounted the Day of Martyrdom; a Glorious Death, being more to be regarded than a Natural Birth: And as we are told by Tradition, The manner of that Apostle's Martyrdom, very nearly*  
*Symboli-*



Symbolizeth with this *Barbarous Massacre*; for he was *Excoriated*, and the poor Protestants were *Butchered*, as so many Sheep for the Slaughter.

Let us, in the last Place, see what Hand the Pope had in this *Sanguinary Transaction*. It might Rationally have been expected, That the pretended *Vicar* of him, who is really the *Prince of Peace, and Fountain of all Justice and Truth*, would not have fail'd to give a deserv'd Reprimand to that eldest Son of the Church, for his great Injustice and Perfidiousness, and for causing the Marriage of his Sister resemble that of *Perithous*, at which, the *Centaurs* and *Lapithæ* made such Slaughter one of another; or that of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, where the Uncle of the rescu'd Maid gave occasion to the effusion of so much Innocent Blood; or that Counterfeit Marriage, lately mention'd, of *Caracalla*, with the *Parthian King's* Daughter: But *Gregory the XIIIth*, was so far from acting the part of a Christian Pastor, or imitating *St. Ambrose* in his impartial Discipline, even against the Great *Theodosius*, for those Murders committed by his Authority at *Thessalonica*; that on the contrary, as soon as he was inform'd, That so many Thousands of all Sexes and Ages were cut off, by the King's express Order, and that he had threatened the King of *Navarre*, and Prince of *Conde*, with present Death, if they went not to Mass; he immediately order'd a publick Procession through *Rome*, to return solemn Thanks to God for that Massacre; with which Cavalcade, the Blood-thirsty Pope was present all the time: *A most Detestable piece of Pageantry!* much like to *Jezebel's Parade*



through the Streets of *Jezreel* for the Murder of *Naboth* and his Family; for both pretended Religion. And thus *Gregory* the XIIIth. gain'd more Dishonour, by that Deformation, than all the Credit he got by the Reformation of the Kalender.

It is reported by some, That the said *Gregory* at the Head of his Procession, should have compar'd *Charles* the IXth, to *Judith*, who cut off the Head of *Holofernes*: But 'tis most certain, That his immediate Successor *Sixtus Quintus*, in that long *Panegyrick* he made before all his Cardinals in the Consistory, compar'd that young Assassine, *Ja. Clement* the Dominican Friar, to *Judith*, for Dispatching his King, *Henry* the IIIrd, at one Blow: But, in my Opinion, a little alteration of the Name, *Judith* into *Judas*, would have fitted both the *Jacobin* Monk, and *Charles* the IXth much better. And sure I am, Divine Justice thought fit to verify upon that Prince, that just Commination in Holy Scripture, *The Blood thirsty and Deceitful Man, shall not live out half his Days*: For he Dy'd within two Years after that Massacre, which will make him Infamous to the end of the World: And if before his End, he found occasion to read his Sin in his Judgment, in the manner of his Death, as is testified by many; I should be very glad to be inform'd, That before his Exit, it had pleas'd the Infinite Goodness to bestow upon him, the Grace of unfeign'd Repentance, to preserve him from having his Portion with Hypocrites, in that Lake which burns with Fire and Brimstone.

Let us now cross the *Alps*, and if we believe *Aeneas Silvius*, even before he was Pope, we



we will find the *Italian* Princes under a very bad Character; for he observ'd, That the Promises and Oaths of the most part of 'em, had less certainty in them, than the Promises of Common Whores; and this was writ about the middle of the XVth Century. In the same Age, *Ferdinand the Catholick*, began to tamper in *Italy*, and contributed his Endeavours to preserve the Honour of *Æneas*, that he might not be found a Liar; for under the pretence of Protecting *Frederick* King of *Naples*, his Cousin, from the Incroachments of *Lewis* the XIIth, of *France*, (who, no doubt, had as good a Title to that Crown as his Predecessor *Charles* the VIIIth) he got the principal Forts of it in his Possession; but then he most basely betray'd his own Blood, by turning his Back on that great Cadet of the House of Arragon, and his Face towards the French, having divided that Rich Kingdom betwixt himself and *Lewis* the XIIth; and shortly after, shuffled out the French; that the Ill-got Kingdom might be entirely his own: Then the King of *France* found leisure to Repent, he had not accepted of that Vassalage the distress'd *Frederick* had tender'd to him, To hold *Naples* as Tributary to the Crown of *France*, since he perceiv'd the base Disingenuity and Cheatry of the Stock of his House.

It is worth the while to notice the Grand Instrument and Cunning Tool, this Subtil Spanish Prince made use of, for carrying on his Fraudulent Designs, viz. *Gonsalvo* the great Captain; term'd so, for his great Courage and Conduct in War; he was also greatly Immoral, in having too large a Conscience, or rather none at all; it being his usual Expressi-



on, *That a Soldier's Honour was made of a very strong Web*; and sure, his Web behov'd to be very firm and impenetrable, if two solemn Perjuries could not pick an hole in it; for he swore solemnly to *Cesar Borgia*, before he put himself in his Power, that he would never send him to *Spain*, yet he did the contrary in a few days; which gave occasion to *Lewis the XIIth*, to say, *After this we shall celebrate the Spanish Faith, in lieu of the Punick Faith*; for *Borgia* had been his Creature, being created by him *Duke Valentinois*: It is true, this was a just judgment of God upon *Borgia*, in making one wicked Man punish another, and that by his own cheating art; for he had trepan'd, and then slaughter'd, almost the whole great Family of the *Ursini*, even before *Machiavel* made him his Prince, which made many suspect the Author to be an Atheist: but tho' this *Machiavelian* Prince was indeed as cruel and Treacherous a Wretch as ever went upon two feet, except his Father, *Pope Alexander the VIth*; yet the Civil Law hath determin'd, *that a Common Whore may be ravish'd*.

The other instance of *Gonsalvo's* Perjury is yet worse; because the Oath was given with greater Solemnity, and to a more innocent Person: for having long besieg'd *Tarentum*, where the afflicted Father, *King Frederick*, had put his only Son, for a secure shelter against his Unnatural Cousins of *Arragon*, it being a well Fortify'd City; yet at last the *Tarentines*, fearing Famine, made this Capitulation with the great Captain, That they would yield up their City, provided he suffer'd the young Prince to go where he pleas'd; but knowing him



him to be a Disingenuous Man, they would not believe his *Oath*, till he took the *Sacrament* upon it : But notwithstanding of all his Sacramental Engagements, he sent the young Prince to *Spain*, pretending, his Royal Master's Order for it, which he dar'd not disobey : And it seems, that *Secular Pope* Dispens'd with all his Oaths, whensoever he pleas'd, without great Displeasure to either Conscience, *hinc inde* : Thus the old Proverb is verify'd, *Similes habent Labra Lactucas*, i. e. *Such Master, such Servant* : yet at last, the Master considering, That the Servant in his Name, having made a Purchase of a great Kingdom by Force and Fraud, he might by that same means Monopolize it to himself; and therefore rested not, till he brought him to *Spain* with himself, under some honourable Pretence; but would never consent to his return : *Ferdinand*, not being the first Subtil Prince, who lov'd the *Treason*, but hated the *Traitor*.

A Word or two with *Britain*, and then I have done with this *Prolix Rule*. There have been too many Disingenuous Princes both in *Scotland* and *England*, even since Christianity was planted in the whole Island; and whoever desires to see a List of'em, may find it recorded by *Buchanan*, in the Life of King *James* the IVth. I shall only take notice of three of the *Norman Race*; the first is *Henry* the III, whom *David* the Ist. of *Scotland*, call'd *St. David*, assisted, when *Henry* was very young, against the Usurper King *Stephen*, because K. *David* was his Grand-Uncle, and well knew, that he had the better Right; for that good Prince would not in the least swerve



from the Path of Justice, for all the Relatives in the World : When *Henry* became a Man, he came to *Carlisle*, where his Uncle Knighted him, and there he solemnly Swore, he should never molest any of the Posterity of *K. David*, in their Possessions; and that if he did otherways, he would shew himself a most Ingrate Beneficiary, since it was so well known, That his Grand-Uncle had suffer'd much trouble from King *Stephen* on his Account : But the palpable and frequent Oppressions of that Simple Prince, *Malcom* the IVth, *K. David's* Grand-child, Surnam'd *the Maiden*, as being fitter for a Nunnery than a Throne; abundantly testify, That King *Henry* was not a *Prince of his Word*.

The next is *Edward* the Ist. Surnam'd *Longshanks*, whom the *Scotch* Historians, generally brand, as *one that betrayed his Trust* : For when a great Controversy arose about the Succession to the *Scottish* Crown, after *Alexander* the III<sup>d</sup> had broke his Neck at *Kinghorn*, the chief Competitors being *Bruce* and *Baliol*, the Arbitration of the matter was referr'd, by the States of the Kingdom, to King *Edward*, as a potent Neighbour Prince, and not as Lord Paramount of that Kindom, as *P. Heylin* most falsely averres : yet in so doing, the *Scots* were neither Happy nor Wise; for, if their Historians are to be believ'd, the grand Design of that Arbitrator, was to make that Kingdom Tributary to himself; for which end, he first call'd for *Bruce* in private, judging him to have the weaker Title, and offer'd to Determine in his Favour, if he would hold the Crown in Vassalage to *England* : which he Generously refus'd, telling King *Edward*, That  
he



he was not so ambitious of the Title of King, as to enslave a free Nation by any Deed of his : But Baliol had a more Liqueurish Appetite for the Crown, tho' not a Head for any ; and therefore accepted the Offer on any Terms : But when his Subjects disown'd him, for making the Kingdom Tributary ; he withdrew to France : King Edward then concluded, he had a good Pretext, as well as Occasion, to make an entire Conquest of that Ancient Kingdom ; and because R. Bruce had many Friends and Allies in Scotland, he promis'd to make him King, if he would Aid him in Subduing that Stubborn People ; with which, he was the more ready to comply, because he was somewhat jealous, That the Renown'd Wallace was Acting for himself : but as soon as Wallace was Dead, and the Country settled, he thought fit to mind K. Edward of his Promise ; to whom he return'd this Answer, *Have I nothing else to do, than to Conquer Kingdoms for you ?*

But I judge Edward the III<sup>d</sup>. much voider of Generosity than his Grandfather ; nay, among all Civiliz'd Nations, such a base Instance of *perfidious Cruelty* can hardly be found, as was practis'd by him at Berwick in Scotland : which little, but strong City, being besieg'd by him, in the Minority of K. David Bruce, the Eldest Son of the Lord Seton, (then Governor of that Town) a rash Stripling, in making an Excursion upon the Enemy, was taken Prisoner ; at last, they within the City came to this Capitulation with the King of England, *That if they were not reliev'd before such a Day, they should, on certain Terms agreed upon hinc inde, deliver up the City to the English ; for* assn-



assurance whereof, the Governour gave his other son *as Hostage*, doubting nothing, of his receiving them both again, when the City was either Reliev'd, or Surrender'd: But King Edward finding, that a great Army from all Parts of *Scotland* was advancing against him, sent Word to the Governour, *That he would Hang both his Sons in the sight of the City, unless he yielded up the Town that very Day*: The Governour desir'd him, *To look to the Articles of Capitulation, and he would find, that divers Days were yet to elapse, before he was bound to give up the Town; and as he resolv'd to perform those Articles in every Point; so he hop'd, the King of England would be so Generous, as to keep his Word and Oath*. K. Edward, caus'd instantly rear up a Gibbet, and sent Word again to the Governour, *That if he suffer'd one Hour to pass, he might see both his Sons Hanged on that Tree*: And here 'tis very observable, That the Father and Mother may be said to have changed Sexes at that time; for the Father's Bowels yern'd upon his two Sons; but the Mother, being a Woman of a Masculine Spirit, told her Husband, *That they were yet young enough to have more Children; and that he ought to regard his Honour, and not bring a Stain upon his Family, by betraying the Trust his Prince repos'd in him*: And thus, were the two hopeful Boys Hang'd in the sight of their Parents, if they had not seasonably withdrawn from so ruthfull a Spectacle.

The XIth. EVIDENCE, of Prudence in a Generous Prince, is to weigh well what he speaks, especially in ticklish times; for then, too many are predisposed for Sedition, and glad of the least pretence of new fuel to their fire, which they



they usually find in those *short Speeches* of some Princes, that flee abroad like Darts, and are thought to be Shot out of their secret Intentions; whereas large Discourses are flat things, and not so much noticed. I shall therefore, give 2 or 3 Instances of some short and sharp Speeches, which falling unwarily from Princes, have given fire to Seditions, and become, as it were, a Watchword or an Allarum to Treasons of the highest nature: for as the Poet hath said,

*Nescit vox missa reverti;*

and Seneca hath told us, that many Princes have repented of what they spoke, but few or none, of their Silence; for tho' 'tis a rule of Morality, To put the best construction on the ambiguous expressions, or doubtful Actions of our Neighbours, that possibly they can admit; yet there are too many in the World, who practise the direct contrary, by Torturing, as it were, the Expressions of their Neighbours, whether Inferiours or Superiours, that they may in Malice squeeze out, what Charity would have covered.

*Julius Caesar*, did himself great hurt, in that Speech whereby he reflected, Satyrically enough, on the ignorance of *Sylla*; *Sylla nescivit Literas, non potuit dicere*; for thus he utterly cut off that hope the Romans entertain'd of his giving over the Dictatorship, at one time or other. *Galba* undid himself by such another short Speech, *Legi a se militem non emi*; for it put the Souldiers out of all hope of the *Donative*: a Foolish Custom, first introduc'd by the Foolish Emperour *Claudius*.  
And



And *Probus*, tho' he did not belie his name, being a very good Man, yet ruin'd himself by that free Speech, *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus*; a very hard saying to the Souldiers, who could not Work in time of Peace, and were ashamed to Beg!

It was a fatal Speech of the Emperour *Claudius*, (who was never good at *Repartees*) which dropt from him in his cups, to which he was too much addicted; *That his destiny was, first to endure all the mischiefs of his Wives, and afterwards to punish 'em*: no doubt this threatening expression would startle his Niece and Wife *Agrippina*, considering, *that after Wine comes Verity*, and what reason she had to conclude her self no less Criminal than her Predecessour: for what she wanted of the Prodigious Lust of *Messalina*, was sufficiently counterpoised by her own insatiable Ambition and Malice: And therefore she took the start of *Claudius*, by Poisoning him, in a dish of Mushromes, his beloved Food; which gave occasion to *Nero*, her Son, usually to say, that *Mushromes was the Food of the Gods*, alluding to that *Apotbeosis* of *Claudius*, appointed by the slavish Senate: who it seems was not the first of their intemperate Deities, since they had long before owned *Bachus*, as one of their imaginary Gods.

It was the usual Phrase of *Parysatis*, Mother to *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *that the Subject who adventures to admonish his Prince, ought to do it with silken Words*; So a King in a dark and gloomy Day, the more to animate his faithful Subjects and Followers, *if he have not Money in his Purse, should have silk in his Tongue*: this was the Laudable practice of the great



great *Cæsar*, greatly to his advantage; for never any Army Loved their General better, nor were more ready to die for him. Yet 'tis no great wonder to find one, endued with all the attractives of Love, in an extraordinary measure, to be greatly beloved by his Army, as was *Julius Cæsar*, for his Courage, Conduct, Clemency, Ingenuity, Affability, Sympathy, Beauty, Liberality, Knowledge, and Eloquence; all ingratiating Qualities: but it is a matter of greater admiration, to see a Morose, Austere, Disingenuous, and Cruel General; (for thus the *Romans*, represented *Hannibal*, as destitute of *Cæsar*'s good Qualities, except the two first) and yet of such an insinuating behaviour, as to keep a great Army, Compos'd of diverse Nations, and often very ill pay'd, without Mutiny against their General, or quarrel amongst themselves, in a Foreign Country, for the space of, at least, sixteen Years. But to abate a little of this, the *Roman* Historians must give me leave to say, *that the Devil is not so Black as he is painted.*

Among the many good qualities of *Julius Cæsar*, I must again tax him with another Act of Imprudence, in matter of Personal Government; namely his want of Guards, after his Usurpation; not considering the danger of trusting to that People's Love, whom he had bereaved of their Liberty, and that he was counteracting to that axiom both in Natural and Moral Philosophy, *that every thing is most commonly preserv'd by the same means whereby it was acquir'd*: For since his Principality was got by force, it ought to have been maintain'd by strong Hand. No doubt, as *Dictator*, he had 24 *Lictors* going before him, when  
he



he appear'd in Publick, but if the tenth part of the *Pretorian Cohorts*, which afterwards came in fashion, had stood as his Guard, at the Senate-House Door without, I am perswaded, that *sixty within* would not have dar'd to Assassinate him, least the thousand at the door should instantly have cut them to Pieces: And I cannot but admire, by the bye, that, *Cæsar* having augmented the number of the Senate, from 300 to almost a Thousand, none of 'em adventur'd to draw upon the Sixty Conspirators. The same admiration is made by some in reference to *Sejanus*, the great Favorite of *Tiberius*, yet with much less reason; but I shall not insist upon it.

I only add to this particular, that the grand Nephew of *Julius*, the great *Augustus*, tho' he came short of his Uncle's Courage, yet was more prudent; for he had less need of Guards than *Julius*, because the following consent of the People may be said to have purify'd his first Usurpation, yet he would never want his Guards; considering that a Felonious Traitor may easily dispatch a *Naked Prince*, tho' he hath the general Love of his People; and such hath been the fate of many Kings and Emperours: no doubt *Augustus* knew the Story of that Treacherous Prince, who pretending to flee from the Tyranny of that perfidious King *Mithridates*, came with a design to Murder *Lucullus* the Roman General, notwithstanding the Consul had entertain'd him very kindly; and would have done it, when he was asleep in an afternoon, if the Guard at the Tent-Door had not repulsed him with strong Hand, as an uncivil disturber of their General. I had almost forgot the ordinary Apology of *Julius Cæsar*.



*Cæsar*, for his want of Guards, that in this he imitated their Religious and Peaceable King *Numa*, whose first Act, after he had possessed the Royal seat of the Kingdom, was to discharge the Guard of 300 Soldiers call'd *Celeres*, which *Romulus* had always about his Person; saying *he would not mistrust them who trusted him, nor would he be a King over that People who should mistrust him*: but tho' this was a sufficient reason on *Numa's* part, yet not upon *Cæsar's*; for *Numa*, tho' a *Sabin*, had an Unanimous Call from the People of *Rome* to be their Governour, which *Cæsar*, tho' a *Roman*, had not.

The XIIth EVIDENCE of Prudence in a Generous Prince, is *Gratitude to all that have done him good Offices*: the want of which makes Princes, as well as other Men, not only void of Generosity, but also such as may be justly ranked amongst the worst of Men, as saith the Philosopher, *si ingratum dixeris, omnia*. The truth of this was acknowledged by the Judicious Heathens, who by the very Light of Nature, term'd those, *Pious*, who were respectful to their Parents; because generally their greatest Benefactors upon Earth: thus *Virgil* calls the great Hero of his Book *Pius Æneas*, for carrying his old Father on his Back out of the Flames of *Troy*: and on the contrary *Orestes* and *Nero*, are term'd Impious Persons, for murdering their Mothers, who had carry'd them so long in their Bellies: and did not all the *Romans* give the Epithet of *Pius*, to *Antoninus*, the adopted Son of the Emperour *Adrian*, for snatching the knife out of his Father's Hand; wherewith, through extremity of pain, he thought to have dispatch'd himself?

It



It is written to the great commendation of *Philip of Macedon*, that he regretted exceedingly, his old Host at *Thebes* had dy'd, before he had sufficiently recompens'd him for the great Kindness shew'd to himself in his younger Years; whereas, *Tiberius's* Saying to his old Host at *Rhodes*, after his Elevation to the Empire, That he remembred not what bad befallen him in his younger Years; was reckon'd most Ingenuous; his old Friend having come the length of *Rome* to wait upon him.

Nothing magnify'd *Darius Hystaspes* so much, in the Eyes of all his *Persians*, as his Gratitude towards his Cousin German *Zopyrus*, who did indeed, merit much at his Hands: For when *Babylon* had Revolted, and in all probability, would have cost him many Years Besieging, before it could be reduc'd, in regard, it was so well Fortify'd, and full of Provisions; this *Zopyrus*, who lov'd both *Darius* and the King, as intensely in one Person, as was *Alexander* afterwards beloved by his two Minions, *Ephestion* and *Craterus*; for the recovery of that Revolted great City, practis'd a strange piece of Unnatural Policy, by cutting off his own Ears, Nose and Lips, and running into *Babylon*, as if he had been so mutilated by the King, who was become a great Tyrant; the *Babylonians* believing him, and knowing him to be a *Brave Prince*, immediately trusted him with the principal Command of the City; whereby, he soon found occasion to deliver it up to his *Royal Master*: *Darius*, being more overjoy'd, in having such a Cordial Friend, than that the City was recover'd; us'd to say, He valu'd his *Zopyrus*, more than twenty *Babylons*.



On the contrary, *Augustus Caesar*, tho' unquestionably indued with many Princely Vertues, will be branded to the end of the World, for his great Ingratitude to *Cicero*, who by his influence on the Senate and his great Eloquence, was the only Man that buoy'd up young *Octavius* against the great Power and Malice of old *Mark Anthony*; yet this ingrate Client gave over his *Patron* to the fury of his implacable Enemy: 'tis true *Augustus* wrestled against it for three days, after the other two, of that bloody Triumvirate, had consented, that the Uncle of one, and the Brother of the other, should be brought to that publick Shambles; but *Augustus* should have told them, that himself would be yet more unnatural to suffer him to be proscribed, who was his Father, and had acted more for him than his natural Parents could have done: yea 'tis very observable, that poor *Cicero* met with a complication of ingritudes; for that murderous Villain whom *Mark Antony* imploy'd to cut off that Aged Head, had been rescu'd from the infamous death of a Parricide, by the Eloquent Tongue of *Cicero*; if he knew him to be guilty, and yet blemished the Eyes of the Judges, as he used to boast of his Admirable Pleadings, he might have read his Sin in his Judgment; but even that, could not justify the ingratitude of *Augustus*, nor his saying, that his *Philippicks* were in *odium tertii*; for 'tis certain, he reap'd the benefit of those Satyrical orations against *Mark Anthony*, which he so nam'd, from the invective declamations of *Demosthenes* against King *Philip* of *Macedon*.



This minds me of another Philip of Macedonia, Father to Perseus, *mali corvi malum ovum*, who prov'd so basely ingrate to the Old and Young Aratus, that tho' they had contributed their utmost endeavours to make him Master of all Greece, yet he poyson'd both Father and Son in the end; and at last came to a shameful end himself, after he had most unnaturally and unjustly put to death his only worthy Son, Demetrius. But to return to the Roman Emperors. The immediate Successour of Augustus was ingrate to his too loving Mother Livia, who, if Fame belie her not, had *viis & modis*, removed many out of the way, that her Son might Reign; yet, as Tacitus reports, Tiberius slighted her much in her Old Age. Agrippina was indeed much inferiour to Livia in natural Gifts and Parts, and fuller of more apparent Malice and Wickedness, yet Nero, by his Matricide, hath made himself infamous for ever; nor to speak of his base Ingratitude to his Father-in-Law, Claudius; who not only gave him to Wife, Octavia, a Chast and Vertuous Lady, but also Adopted him for his Eldest Son, and thereby most unnaturally preferr'd him to his natural Son Britannicus; in requital whereof, that Monster of Nature poyson'd the two Children, after his Mother had, in that same manner, dispatch'd the Father: and for an aggravation of Nero's Ingratitude to his Mother, the Answer she gave to the Soothsayer ought not to be forgot; for having consulted him about her Son's becoming Successor to Claudius, he plainly told her, *it would be fatal to the Mother's life*, if the Son mounted the Imperial Throne; *Let me die*, said she, *providing my Son Reign.* There



There is a currant Story concerning the Famous *Belisarius*, That, after he had erected Trophies of his Victories, over the *Persians* in *Asia*, the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and the *Goths* in *Italy*; *Justinian* the Emperour was nevertheless so ingrate to him, upon the account of State Jealousie, that he bereav'd him of his great Fortune, put out his Eyes, and sent him a begging, with these ruthful words in his Mouth, *Date obolum Belisario, quem invidia non culpa occacavit*: This Tragical Story hath been so often improv'd, both by Orators and Preachers, as a remarkable instance of prodigious Ingratitude, that 'tis generally believ'd; yet I cannot give Faith to it, since *Procopius*, who was Secretary to *Belisarius* all the time, and writes the History of his Life at great length, hath nothing of it: neither was it out of respect to the Emperor, that *Procopius* conceal'd that great fault; (as *Eusebius* in the Life of *Constantine the Great* is altogether silent as to those horrid Tragedies he acted in his own Family, after he became Christian, namely the private Murder of his Son *Crispus*, and his Wife *Faustina*;) for as that Servant Loved the Master dearly, so he hated the Emperor with a perfect hatred; as appears from his private Memoirs, term'd *Anecdota*, which he wrote after the Death of *Belisarius*, wherein he blackens both the Emperor, and *Theodora* the Empress, with the great Crimes of Avarice, Cruelty and Disingenuity, and also declares, that *Belisarius* was not so honourably rewarded as he deserv'd; but of that severe Treatment, above-mention'd, not one Syllable.



It is a more certain instance of Ingratitude, which concerns the immediate Successour of *Belisarius*, in his command of the Imperial Forces in *Italy*, the Famous *Narses*, tho' a Eunuch, yet of as Masculine and Martial a Spirit as any in his Age; for he had the good fortune to break the whole power of the *Goths* in *Italy*, which *Belisarius* had not the good luck to do: but on what account the Empress *Sophia* (not a whit wiser for her Name) conceiv'd a displeasure against him, I do not know; but History makes it evident, that she commanded him to forbear the *Employments of Men*, to return and spin amongst her Maids; for she had the whole command, because her Husband *Justin* the II<sup>d</sup>, Nephew by his Sister to *Justinian* the I, was become a *distracted Prince*: *Narses* resented the indignity so highly, that he sent her back word, *He would spin such a Web, that all the Empire should not be able to untwist*; which he too successfully effected, by calling in the *Lombards* into *Italy*, who ruin'd the Interest of the *Greek* Emperors, in that part of the World: and this he did in imitation of *Boniface* Proconsul of *Africk*, who from that same Principle of Revenge against the Court, call'd the *Vandals* into *Africk*: as Count *Julian*, long before them both, brought in the *Moors* upon *Spain*, upon the same account.

If any desire to hear of a just Judgment which befell that foolish Empress, for putting such an Affront upon so worthy a Person, they will find it in the ensuing merry Story: Upon her Recommendation, one *Tiberius* (called afterwards *Tiberius* the II<sup>d</sup>.) became the Associate of *Justin* in the Empire, and  
was



was declared to be his Successor after his death; he was indeed a gallant Commander, a most excellent Christian, and as Charitable a Prince to the Poor as ever liv'd; but it was only the *Handsomness of his Person* that recommended him to the favour of the Empress, who being accounted the properest Man in all the Empire, she design'd to marry him after the Death of her *sickly Husband*; and tho' this *Vacancy* soon happened, yet so bad was her Information, that she knew nothing of there being *no room for her*, till that very day in which *Tiberius* was proclaim'd sole Emperor, having given order also to *Proclaim his Wife as Empress*; at which Disappointment, *Sophia* raged no less, than did the Lascivious Mistress of the Patriarch *Joseph*, and instantly plotted to turn him out again; but he prevented her, by turning her into a Monastery, where she was confin'd all the rest of her time. I might here Discourse of the Ingratitude of *Macbeth* in Scotland to *Bancho*, and of *Richard* the III<sup>d</sup> in England to the Duke of *Buckingham*; for these Brethren in evil gave their Confederates a very bad reward: as also, of *Henry* the VII<sup>th</sup>, in reference to the Lord *Stanley*; and of his Grand-child Queen *Mary*, with respect to the Men of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; and of several others: but I have an aversion to rake any longer in such a puddle.

The XIII<sup>th</sup>, EVIDENCE of Prudence in our Generous Prince, is, *not only to be very cautious of being rash in his Words; but also of being Temerarious in his Deeds, which may prove fatal both to himself and others; especially, in reference to his nearest Relations, and*



*old Friends*: Many too Credulous and Hasty Princes: in a fit of Passion, have done that in an Hour, which they would have repented all their Life, tho' they had liv'd *Methuselah's* Years; I mean such, who, upon Misinformation, have order'd to take away the Lives of some, whom they lov'd dearly, and had good reason to do so; a Loss, which without a Miracle, cannot be repair'd! whereas Forfeiture of Goods, Imprisonment, or Banishment, are Grievances, which, upon better Information, can be redress'd, even by Natural Means: On this account, it was Wisely and Generously done by those Princes, who order'd the Prefects of their Provinces, and all inferior Judges, *Not to obey, even their Letters Patent, if they were found to be expressly contrary to Law*: Because it might be presum'd, The Prince had been surpriz'd by the false Suggestions of Malicious and Cunning Calumniators: And thus it is Recorded, as a celebrated Expression of the Emperor *Trajan*, (an excellent Judiciary, if he had not been at first too severe upon the Christians) when he gave the Sword to the Prefect of Rome, he said openly, *If I Govern according to Law, use this for me; but, if I Command any thing contrary to the Established Laws of the Empire, then draw it against me.*

This Prudential, and just method of Government, is grounded upon that Rule of Morality, even as to all Men; *That the deliberate Will of any Person, is preferable to his indeliberate*; and since the Law is the deliberate Will of the Prince, it being the *Royal Assent*, that in all well order'd Kingdoms, *Transforms a Bill, into a Law*; every Just and  
Wise



Wise Prince, will be so far from using Severity against that Subject, who, with all due Defe-  
 rence and Humility, excuseth himself, Why,  
 he cannot comply with his Order, as being  
 directly contrary to his *deliberate Will*, pu-  
 blish'd in his Laws; that as soon as such a  
 good Prince is convinc'd of this, he will be  
 ready to say with the Roman Emperor, *Quod*  
*inconsulto fecimus, consulto revocamus*. And  
 thus will not fail to vindicate such a Subject,  
 from the odious Imputation of *Disobedience*;  
 considering, that the full import of *Allegi-*  
*ance*, implies no more, *than Obedience accord-*  
*ing to Law*. It were indeed, a great Happi-  
 ness to live under a Prince, whose Sole Will  
 is the Law, provided he was a Glorify'd Saint,  
 or Angel, who could not, at any time, devi-  
 ate from the Paths of Righteousness and  
 Truth: But seeing all Mortal Princes, are ob-  
 noxious to the same Passions with other Men,  
 'tis the Advantage both of Kings and Sub-  
 jects, to have the extent of Authority, and  
 Measures of Obedience duly regulated, by  
*Just and Evident Laws*; that Kings and Sub-  
 jects may clearly and fully know their respec-  
 tive Duties. It was on this Account, that  
 Charles the Vth, utter'd a most noble Expres-  
 sion; for being inform'd, That under his Hand,  
 he had granted something that was Illegal,  
 he call'd for the Grant, and tore it with his  
 own Hand, saying, *I had rather tear my Wri-*  
*ting, than my Soul*.

I say, the Laws should be *Just and Evident*:  
 As to the first, Whatever Title may be fix'd  
 upon that Constitution call'd a Law, yet if it  
 be not *Sententia precipiens Honestam*, it is not  
 properly a Law, but *Violentia*; as the Ange-



lical Doctor well describeth it : And thus we are told in H. Scripture, *That Iniquity may be establish'd by a Law.* And as it should be *Just*, so it should be *Evident* ; so plain, that whosoever runs may read, both the Words and Sence of it : In order to which, the Laws of the 12 Tables among the *Romans*, were expos'd upon Pillars, that they might be obvious to every Beholder. If a Law was conceiv'd in Ambiguous Terms, no doubt, the Interpretation belongs chiefly to the Sovereign Prince ; but all such should have a special Care not to make such *dark Laws*, least they be misconstru'd as *Tyrannical Snares*, according to that Threatning in H. Scripture, *Pluet, super eos, Laqueos* : for every Subject is the more ready to perform his Duty aright, the more exactly he knows it before-hand ; and if he transgress such a plain and known Law, and come to be sensible of his Guilt, he cannot reasonably repine, when he suffers the just Penalty of it, to which he consented in Parliament, either by himself, or Representatives : But if a Law shall be so obscure, that it may be diversly Interpreted, the Judge is put above the Law, tho' his proper Office is *Jus dare*, and not *Jus dicere*.

It is the best Apology can be made for the Persecution of Christians, carry'd on under the shadow of the Authority of some Excellent Moral Men among the *Roman Emperors*, such as *Trajan*, *Antoninus Pius*, *Marcus Aurelius* the Philosopher ; *That what they did, was in obedience to an old standing Law among the Romans, which, under pain of Death, prohibited the introduction of any new Religion among 'em, without the expresse Consent of the Senate* : If there



there was such a Law, it was undoubtedly, one of *Aquinas's Violentia*; and I'm confident, never any understood this Doctrine better than St. Paul, who expressly affirm'd, That if he had been guilty of any Crime, which the Law declar'd to be Capital, he would have patiently submitted to the stroke of Justice; but knowing himself Innocent according to Law, he protested, that no Punishment should be inflicted upon him; because where there is no Law, there is no Transgression, and consequently, no Punishment is due, where there is no Law transgress'd: And on the contrary, there is nothing more plain, than that he, who against Law invades his Neighbour's Life, is in the construction of Law a Murtherer; even as he who against Law invades his Neighbour's Property, is in the same Construction of Law, a Robber.

I judge *Britain* very Happy in that Privilege, which the Municipal Laws of the respective Kingdoms have indulg'd to all Subjects; That the Life of the poorest Beggar cannot be taken, for any Crime, till he is found Guilty by an *Affize* of, at least, 12 Honest Men, who are his Peers, or Equals in Rank, his Neighbours, and often his Relations; all such being presum'd to know his *anteacta vita* better than Strangers: before which *Furies*, the alledg'd Crime must be clearly prov'd, by famous Witnesses, before the *Verdict* can be brought in *Guilty*; and till such a *Verdict* be brought in, the Criminal Judge cannot proceed to Sentence. I know, many find fault with the usual Threatning of the Assisers with an *Affize of Error*, to be Commenc'd against themselves, if they shall absolve the accus'd Criminal; but that there is no Remedy appointed against an unjust Sentence of Condemnation;



nation : Yet to this it is said, The Law presumes, that such is the compassionateness of Human Nature, that the generality of Men; especially, where there is the tie of Relation or Neighbourhood betwixt 'em, are more apt to Absolve the Guilty than Condemn the Innocent.

Yet, even in *France* it self, a time was, when it was Happy in very Honest Criminal Judges, who were either better acquainted with the Law, or more willing to observe it than the King himself, tho' the Prince then Regnant was *Lewis* the XIIth Surnam'd *the Just*, and call'd *the poor Man's King* : For having made a Gentleman close Prisoner, he call'd for the Criminal Judges, and told them, *Such a Man deserv'd Death according to Law ; upon which, he was ready to give a Judicial Oath, but was not clear to declare his Crime, since it reflected so much upon his Honour* : He having, it seems, dishonour'd some Person in the Royal Family ; But the Honest Judges told the King plainly, That at their Admission, *they had Sworn to Administer Justice to all, Impartially, according to Law* ; and therefore, could not put any to Death, till the Crime, deserving it, was judicially and clearly made out by two famous Witnesses ; and tho' his Majesty should give his Oath in the Case, he was, by the Law, to be consider'd (tho' a King) no more than *singularis testis* : On which account they hop'd he would have them excus'd, since he knew it to be their Duty to Act according to Law. If the King caus'd Strangle the Prisoner privately, as some report, we are not concern'd to enquire.

It is now high time to take notice of some Instances of such Princes, who have acted  
contrary



contrary to this *Prudential Rule*. I begin with *Herod the Great*, who by *Misinformations*, caus'd such *Tragedies* in *Jerusalem*, and in his own Family, That, as *Josephus* reports, he made it resemble a *Butcher's Shop*: For by the false Suggestions of his Malicious Sister *Salome*, he first put to Death his belov'd Wife *Mariamne*, and then cut off her two Sons, *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, by the cunning *Insinuations* of his Bastard Son *Antipater*; whom he justly punished with Death, some few Days before he Dy'd, for his base *Ingratitude* and *Treachery* to his Father, and *Malice* against his Brethren. Nor must we forget the Murder of his sucking Child, among the many thousand *Innocents*, which by his cruel Order, were cut off at *Bethlehem*; when he foolishly thought to destroy the *Son of God* among the rest, because he fear'd the *Kingdom of Christ* would overturn his *Temporal Monarchy*. *Josephus*, is indeed silent, as to this Particular; which, among other Topicks, makes me suspect, he was not the Author of that Paragraph (in the 18 lib. of his *Antiquities*) concerning Christ, notwithstanding it is cited both by *St. Hierom* and *Eusebius*: But *Macrobius* in his *Saturnalia*, mentions it amongst *Augustus's Fests*, when he heard that one of *Herod's* sucking Children was Murder'd amongst the rest of those *Innocents*, he said, He would chuse rather to be *Herod's Swine* than his Son. *Philip* of *Macedon*, the Father of *Perseus*, was almost Contemporary with this *Herod*, and by the false Accusations of his Naughty Son, wrought the like *Tragedies* in the Royal Family, by cutting off his Excellent Son *Demetrius*, who was the Darling of the *Romans*, and the



the occasion of the Father's Death, when he found himself Trepan'd by that Unnatural and most Vicious *Imp.*

A more complex Tragedy of that same Nature, was acted by a Christian Prince, whose Natural Parts, were far beyond what the said *Philip* could pretend to; namely, *Constantine the Great*: His Wife *Faustina*, as the *Italian* Proverb hath it, *Turn'd the Cat in the Pan*, falsely alledging to the too Credulous Father, That his Excellent Son *Crispus*, would have defil'd his Father's Bed: Whereupon, *Constantine* in great Passion, caus'd put the Innocent Son to Death; for *Jealousy is cruel as the Grave*. But finding afterwards, that *spretæ injuria formæ*, or the Repulse the Step-Mother met with, had made her, out of Revenge, maliciously devise that Hellish Lye; the enrag'd Husband most justly caus'd her to be put to Death, in an over heated Bath; a fit Emblem of her Incestuous Heats. Tho' *Eusebius* is silent as to this Tragical Story; yet it is truly Narrated by *Zosimus*, who not unfitly compar'd these three Tragedians to *Theseus*, *Phædra* and *Hippolitus*, there being a great Resemblance betwixt these sad Stories: But this Pagan Historian, discovers great Malice against this Christian Prince, by belying the *Æra* of the Tragedy; for he makes it to have been acted before *Constantine's* Conversion to the Christian Faith, and that the Heathen Priests having told him, *There was not any Sacrifice among 'em, which could expiate for such Unnatural Crimes*; he therefore betook himself to that Baptismal Ceremony in the Christian Church; which, he was made believe, could wash away the greatest Sins imaginable; But



But this is a most notorious Falshood? For in the *fasti Consulares*, The surest Records of all Antiquity; 'tis evident, That the Father and Son were *Conjunct Consuls*, long after their Conversion to the Chriltian Faith. Yet I must needs join Issue with *Zosimus*, in one of his Reflections on that great Prince, viz. That he pav'd the way to the Ruin of the Roman Empire, not only by changing its old Seat; but especially, by dividing it among his Sons; which became a bad preparative for the future, altho' it was again united in the Person of Constantius; and tho' there had been *Conjunct Emperors and Cæsars* too, before the Days of Constantine, yet they all Rul'd the Empire in *Solidum*.

The next Grandee to be brought upon the Stage, is *Theodosius the Great*, a greater Soul than the former; and tho' a *Spaniard* by birth, yet no great Master of his Passions, but subject to furious Anger, till he was better Disciplin'd by that great Bishop *S. Ambrose*; being inform'd that some of his Officers had been kill'd by a popular Tumult in the great City *Theſſalonica*, because they were thought too rigid Exactors of a certain Inposition; the Emperor, in a precipitant rage, ordered, *Man, Wife and Child in that City to be destroy'd*; whereupon in few hours 7000 of all Ages and Sexes were dispatch'd, and many Strangers in the Streets who knew nothing of the former Tumults: and I remember *Nicephorus Calistus* tells a most pittiful Circumstance, That some of those insolent Soldiers who executed the Emperor's Orders, finding a very Old Man in the Streets, pretended to reverence him for his Old Age, and that for his



his sake they would spare either of his two Sons, who accompanied him, that he should choose; but the poor Old Man, looking wishfully sometimes on one and sometimes on the other, could not come to a resolution, for his Bowels yearned equally on each of 'em; till at last these cruel Villains dispatched them both.

A part of the *Penance*, inflicted by that zealous Bishop of *Milan* on the Emperor, for so many Murders, was very advantageous to the greater City of *Antioch*, where a most insolent Crime was committed, some time afterwards, by the generality of the Mob; in dragging most contempuously the Imperial Statues, till at length they threw them into the River *Orontes*; in which affront the Emperor was not so much concern'd for the abuse of his own Statue, as for that of *Placilla* the Empress, being Dead but a little before; who, when alive, was one of the most Religious, Humble, and Charitable Princesses in the World, for with her own hand she would feed poor Sick Persons in Hospitals, nay, wash the Feet of the Poor and kiss them; as afterwards *S. Margaret* of *Scotland* used to do: The Emperor therefore, being so justly provoked, commanded that *Rebellious City* to be demolish'd and Sown with Salt; but the Sentence could not be put in execution till 30 Days expir'd, *St. Ambrose* in the abovementioned *Penance*; having bound him by Oath to allow such a Dilatour to all such *Capital Decrees*; and it were happy for all Kingdoms, on many accounts, to have such a *Fundamental Law*; for before that time was over, *Flavianus* that good Bishop of *Antioch*, did so powerfully interceed, in be-  
half



half of his, then very Penitent, People; that *Theodosius* at last gave them a general Pardon.

*Theodosius* the Younger, Grand-child to the former, was indeed a very devout Prince, but fitter for a Monastery than either Court or Camp; such another was *Henry* the 6th of *England*, and *Robert* the 3d of *Scotland*; these two were unfortunate in this World, but of *Theodosius*, it was truly said, That he prevailed more over his Enemies by his Prayers in his Closet, than did his Armies in the Field, (as *Gustavus Adolphus* us'd to say, He was more afraid of the private Prayers of *Ferdinand* the 11d. than of his publick Arms) yet this good Emperor was prompted in an unhappy fit of Jealousy, to commit a most unadvis'd, unjust and Cruel Act; which he ever afterwards repented, tho' he could not help it: The Story is thus, Having one Day receiv'd from a Country Man, a very fair big Apple; he made a Present of it to his belov'd Empress *Eudoxia*, call'd *Athenais*, before she was Baptiz'd; who, tho' the Daughter of a Pagan Philosopher, yet for her excellent Beauty, and other Natural Parts, was commended to the Imperial Bed by the Emperor's Sister, the wonderful *Pulcheria*; the Empress having occasion the same Day, to visit one *Paulinus*, a most worthy Noble Man, ty'd to his Bed by the Gout; and knowing, that the Emperor valu'd him more than any Subject, for his great Virtue, bestow'd the Apple upon him to recreate his Spirits with the sight or smell of it, in time of his violent Pain; but told not from whom she had it; nor did she acquaint the Emperor with her Design: When the Empe-

tor



ror honour'd *Paulinus* with the next Visit (which he did very often) he told him, *He had got a wonderful Fruit, which was worthy only of his Majesty*; and so presented him with it: At the first sight of it, he was *struck with Jealousy*, and coming home, call'd for a sight of the Apple; the Empress having never seen him Angry before, answer'd, That, being *greedy of Fruit like the rest of her Sex*, she could not forbear to eat it: No, said he, *you have given away my Love-Token to another*; and finding more apparent displeasure in his Words and Countenance, *she most rashly Swore, she had eat it*: Which so far confirm'd him in his Jealousy, that he not only turn'd his Back upon her, which was no great matter, for they were afterwards reconcil'd; but also brought upon himself an irreparable Loss, by *ordering the Life of that Innocent Nobleman to be violently taken from him*. Thus we see, *fair Fruit*, hath made *foul Work* in the World, even since the Foundation of it; not to speak of that *Fatal Ball* which fell on the Mountain *Ida*.

The last Example, contains the most Perplexing and Irrational Jealousy that ever befell a Prince, not for *a Wife*, but for *a Crown*; as the Reader may perceive from the ensuing pitiful Story. *Sha Abbas*, one of the most Famous Kings of *Persia*, of these latter Ages, who liv'd not long ago, was indeed, a Prince of a great Spirit, but kept an high Hand over the Nobility; for which, he was more hated than lov'd by them: But he was most happy in his *Eldest Son* (had he known how to value that Felicity) *being a Prince endu'd with all Moral and Royal Vertues*, and greatly be-  
lov'd



lov'd of his Father, as there was great reason for it; being so Dutiful, that he had never offended him by Word or Deed, tho' he was come to be Marry'd and had divers Children. This Unfortunate Prince, finding, one Morning as he step'd from his Bed, a Schedule on the Floor with these Words, *If you will comply with us, we will set you upon the Throne; for we cannot longer endure your Father's Tyranny*; without any Subscription, only it was subjoin'd, *This is for the good Prince*: Finding this Paper, he was exceedingly astonish'd when he read the Contents of it, being perplex'd with *this Dilemma*, it must either be suppress'd, or shew'd to my Father; the latter will fill him with dreadful Resentments against his Nobility, being Naturally a most Jealous Prince: but the former, may prove more Fatal to my self; in regard, this comes either from the Nobility, or as a *Politick Fetch*, from my Father, to try my Pulse: It from them, 'tis possible, one of the Conspirators may repent, and to obtain his Pardon, discover this unhappy Intimation; and thus, I shall be found guilty of *Misprision of Treason*: And if it comes from my Father, my concealing of it, will give him just Reason, to conclude, That I am too apt to comply with the Rebellious Nobility, when Occasion offers.

Whereupon he concluded, it was the best and safest Course to acquaint the King with it; which he did with the greatest Protestations imaginable that he abhor'd it as the Devil and Hell it self, and declar'd with many Oaths, he would choose rather to be annihilated, than ever to comply with such an *unnatural design*:

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The Father could not but approve his Conduct in the Affair, yet from that Minut he conceiv'd not only a mortal Antipathy against the Nobility, for the Paper was no trick of his own; but also such a Perplexing Jealousie of his Son (*the Bed and the Throne admitting of no Rival*) that for several Nights he slept none, still harping on that expression of *J. lius Caesar*, *If an Oath may be broken 'tis only for a Kingdom*; for he was no stranger to profane History: and concluding, that if his Son was again accosted by the Nobility, he might be tempted at last with the offer of the Crown; he therefore call'd for a Noble-Man, whom he reckon'd *a fit Tool* for such a Wretched purpose, and plainly told him, he could get no sleep so long as his Son was alive; by which wicked Instrument the innocent Youth was soon dispatched: but this was no sooner done, then the Father greatly repented of such an unjust and unnatural fact, and most justly put the executioner to Death for making such haste: Yet all could not repair the injury done to the Dead.

The XIVth EVIDENCE of Prudence in a *Generous Prince*, is *Sollicitously to avoid two extreams*, viz. *Credulity* on the one Hand, especially when the Accusation is Levell'd against any of his own Friends; and on the other Hand, *Carelessness of the Security of his own Person*: A rational Suspicion is truly judg'd the Mother of Security, and many great Men have ruin'd themselves by confiding too much in those who were found, in end, to have very little Honesty; for *all is not Gold that glisters, nor Silver that shines*: Wherefore all Judicious Princes, as soon as they are inform'd



form'd of the dishonesty of their *Trustees*, are apt to consider, That possibly the information may be true, and that 'tis fit they be upon their Guard, since many false Friends have been found in the World; for which, H. Scripture affords an infallible instance in that Lamentation of King David, *that he who had eat of his Bread, had lifted up his heel against his Sovereign*: For by eating Bread and Salt with another, the Ancients understood a lasting and sure bond of Friendship: they are also prone to remember the usual expression of the once famous *Aristotle*, to all his acquaintance, *O my Friends, how rare is it to find many true Friends in the World?* and if there was such Scarcity of 'em at that time, I'm afraid the number is rather diminish'd than augmented in this *Iron Age*.

Next, a Prudent Prince will not fail to consider seriously, if there is ground to suspect, the Informers were acted by a Principle of Malice, or Envy, because such Persons, accused by them, enjoy, as they suppose, too much of the Prince's favour, to the detriment of their Neighbours; so that under pretence of Love to the King, they sometimes persuade too credulous Princes to become the Executioners of their malice against his most faithful subjects. This was one of the Reasons which induc'd *Dioclesian* to resign the Roman Empire: *We see* (said that great Emperour, tho' a great persecutor of Christians) *with other Men's Eyes, and hear with other Mens ears, and these by false intelligence may persuade a Prince to do unjust things, under the notion of Justice*; and thus concludes, *by the hidden Malice and secret Villany of some Courtiers, Interim bonus perditur Imperator.*



But this consideration ought to be of greater extent, even most diligently to observe if there is any latent Ambition in the Heart of the Informer, or grudge at the Prince himself, for such often design, through the sides of the Minion, to Wound the *Royal Patron*, by bereaving the Prince of a great Supporter, that he may the more easily catch a fall: Of this I shall give a most remarkable Instance under the next head, in the fatal Counsel of *Maximus* to *Valentinian* the III<sup>d</sup>. But here I cannot forbear to take notice of the Hellish Policy (as the *Scots* Historians term it) of that Villainous Earl of *Athol*, who Murdered (their) King *James* the I<sup>st</sup>; He appear'd very jealous for the Kings Interest in advising him to cut off many of the Blood Royal, as unnatural Traitors, so that none were thought more loyal than he, even by that Prince, who was otherways very Sagacious: but the Earl had more pernicious designs in his Heart, even to have all the *Royal Branches Lopped* off at last, that, when he had destroyed the *Stem*, the Crown might fall into his Lap, as the *next Heir*; he bearing still a secret grudge against the posterity of *Elizabeth Moor*, as Thinking them unjustly prefer'd to the race of *Euphia Ross*, of which himself was the Principal: To which Ambitious Design he was the more instigated after he received that *Diabolical response*, That *he should be Crown'd before he Dy'd*: And so indeed he was, not with a Crown of Gold, but of red-hot Iron; which was a most suitable Diadem to that Treasonable Head, for Assassinating the most Knowing Prince that *Scotland* ever produced.

Tho'



Tho' the great Confidence of *Alexander the Great* in his Physician, had no bad Event; yet it is given by some, as an Instance of his *Felix temeritas*: The Story was this, When *Alexander* was sick in *Asia*, he receiv'd Letters from *Antipater*, Governour of *Macedon*, informing him, That *Darius* had promis'd no less than 10000 Talents to his Physician, if he would Poyson his Royal Master, who so much troubled all the World; and earnestly entreating him to have a special Care of himself. *Alexander*, was fully perswaded, *Antipater* had no particular Malice at his Physician, and that he had no less Respect for himself, than he always had for his Father, of whose Love and Honesty *K. Philip* was so much convinc'd, that he us'd to say, *He might sleep securely, so long as that Martial and Vigilant Captain was awake*; and there was as little Reason to doubt of *Darius's* Ingenuous Design, to cut off privately, whom he could not otherways overthrow: Yet such was *Alexander's* Confidence in his Physician, That with one Hand he took the Physical Potion from him, and with the other, he reach'd him *Antipater's* Letter, and drunk the one, while he read the other: But, I suppose, his Friends were not a little startled, when a *Syncope* follow'd that strong *Cathartick*; and tho' the Honesty of the Physician shortly appear'd in the speedy Recovery of his Royal Patient; Yet I am apt to believe, That a *Stay'd Prince* would have hardly adventur'd upon that Potion, till an Experiment had been try'd with it on some other Animal; tho' I confess, the Method he took, was more for the Honour of his Physician.



The Emperor *Trajan*, tho' not so Fool-hardy as the other, was no less Confident in such another Matter, only there was more ground to suspect that Malice was at the bottom of it; namely, when his old Friend *Sura Licinius*, to whom, as *great Marischal of the Empire*, he had deliver'd the *Sword* with the celebrated Order above-mention'd; was accus'd by some of his malicious Enemies, as practising against his Life; he went that very Day to *Sura's* House, to Sup with him, and therefore sent home his Guards; before Supper, he employ'd *Sura's* Physician to apply something to his sore Eyes, and his Barber to shave him, and enter'd into his Bath to be wash'd, and after Supper went home privately: Wherefore, next Morning, calling for these Accusers, tax'd them as malicious Calumniators of Honest *Sura*; For, said he, *he could never have a fairer Opportunity to do me Mischief, by Force or Fraud, then yesternight, when he had me in his power, without Guards, as it were putting my Life in the Hands of so many of his Servants.*

But the Great *Julius Caesar* undoubtedly, confided too much in those whom he esteem'd his Friends, and could not be persuaded to believe an ill Tale of any of 'em; which Confidence prov'd very fatal at last: Nay, when some of his best Friends, advis'd him to look better to himself, since he would have no Guards about his Person, assuring him, There was no little *Clubbing and Caballing* against him; he demanded, *Who were the Heads of that suppos'd Combination?* And after they told him, they suspected *M. Antony* and *Dolabella*, and others fear'd the closeness



ness of *Brutus* and *Cassius* ; he made a Jest of both : For, said he, *I never fear such as are Corpulent and Luxurious, that they can be at pains to Conspire against the Life of any Prince ; and thus I have assoyl'd M. Antony and Dolabella : As for those Men, who are Meager and Lean, Sober and Reserv'd, I confess, they are more inclin'd to Plotting ; but yet I have no Diffidence of Brutus and Cassius, because I know they are Generous, and cannot prove so ingrate as to Conspire against him, who pardon'd them, and restor'd 'em to their Fortunes, after they had sided with Pompey the Great, and who has very lately put them both in the honourable Office of Prætors, the next step to the Consulship : But Caesar little consider'd, that these Ultimi Romanorum (for which Epithet *Cremontius Cordus* lost his Life, in the time of *Tiberius*,) preferr'd their National Liberty to all other Things in the World.*

The fittest Parallel, I find in History to this Supine Negligence, as to Self-preservation, is the Tragedy of *Dion* of *Syracuse*, who, being Banish'd his Native Country by *Dionysius* the Younger, notwithstanding he had Marry'd *Dion's* Niece, by his Sister ; went directly to *Athens*, where he had been one of *Plato's* Scholars, when he came to see the old Tyrant of *Sicily*, and in the *Academy*, he again renew'd his Discipleship ; yet his Study of Philosophy, did not hinder him from taking Occasion to recover the Liberty of *Syracuse*, by constraining that Vile Tyrant, who was nestled in it, to flee for his Liberty and Life ; for which wonderful Exploit, he was deservedly Honour'd by the People of that great City, and liv'd happily in his Native Coun-



try, till he became envy'd by one of his special Friends, nam'd *Calippus*, an *Athenian*, who, hoping for the whole Government of *Sicily*, as the Reward of killing his good Friend *Dion*, as some Report, had taken a Bribe of 20 Talents of *Dion's* Enemies, to commit that Murder.

And such was his Villainous Slynese, That he had Permission from *Dion*, to speak evil of him to the Soldiers, thereby to try their Pulses, according to the Proverb, *Tell a Lie, and find the Truth*. So that he carry'd on his Conspiracy without any Suspicion on *Dion's* part; and when some, who were unwilling to Conspire, told *Dion* of it, he was not angry with *Calippus*, thinking, he did no more, than he allow'd him: Nay, when at last, his wicked Practices, even against the Life of *Dion*, were discover'd by divers and manifest Proofs; yet so blinded was he with fatal Credulity, that he said, *He had rather dye a Thousand Deaths, than live in that Misery, to be compell'd to take heed, as well of his Friends, as of his Enemies*: But shortly afterwards, he found *Calippus* the worst of his Enemies; yet justly disappointed of his hopes; for instead of becoming Prince of *Sicily*, or *Syracuse*, he was kill'd with that same Dagger, whereby the Excellent *Dion* was treacherously Murder'd. Which great Villany minds me of what *Cosmo* the great Wit of *Italy*, usually said, *That we are often commanded in H. Scripture, to pardon our Enemies, but never to forgive our Friends*; which imports, *That a false Friend, is the worst of Enemies*.

In the last place, I cannot forbear to Tax one of the most Excellent Princes, for Moral

Vere



Vertues, that ever liv'd, *Titus Vespasian*, for being negligent as to Self-preservation; for tho' he was deservedly term'd the *Darling of Mankind*; yet his Unnatural Brother *Domitian*; was his malicious Enemy, still Plotting against his Life, that himself might succeed: Neither was that good Emperor Ignorant of his Treasonable Designs, having many times called for him in private, and besought him with Tears, *To shew more of Brotherly Affection, and patiently to wait the Will of the Gods; for if Heaven had destin'd him for a Crown, he needed not use unlawful Means to purchase it; for such unjust Methods, would infallibly bring down a Judgment upon him.* But to all this, he turn'd a Deaf-ear; for that Wicked Wretch had neither Religion, Nature, nor Reason in him; and such was his Impatience to Reign, that before his Brother had compleated the 3d Year of his Government, as many suppose, he sent him out of this World by a Dose of Poyson: But the Life of *Titus* being so advantageous to the Empire, and perceiving evidently, That if the Succession fell to *Domitian*, it would prove a great Mischief to it; in my Opinion, *Titus* was culpable, in not securing his Brother, so as neither to have Opportunity to Murder him, nor to become a Fire-brand in the Empire after his Death; by representing to the Senate, how incapable he was of Vertue and Judgment: For, (as the Grand *Cyrus* us'd to say) *A King ought to have more Vertue than any of his Subjects.*

We are assur'd in H. Scripture, That *Bloody and Deceitful Men, shall not live out half their Days*; and so it far'd with that Unnatural Wretch



Wretch *Domitian*, he was Murder'd by his own Steward call'd *Stephanus*, of whom *Apolonius Tyaneus* in the midst of his Praelection at *Ephesus*, most wonderfully cry'd out, *Strike the Tyrant Stephanus, smite him to Death*. A little before he Dy'd, he Dream'd, That a *Golden Neck* grew up from his Shoulders; Which the Soothsayers interpreted, of a *Golden Age* to the Empire after his Death, in which they were not mistaken; for there was never such a Cluster of good Emperors, all together, as happen'd after that happy Death, viz. *Nerva*, *Antoninus Pius*, *Trajan*, *Adrian* and *Marcus Aurelius* the Philosopher; the last, in my Judgment, excell'd them all; yet he had a real Design to Disinherit his only Son *Commodus*, even on his Death-bed; for which end, calling for the Principal Officers of his Army, his Friends and Senators, that were about him, (for he Dy'd not at *Rome*) he thus bespoke them:

*I am going the way of all Flesh, and no doubt, all of you apprehend, I am about to recommend my Son Commodus to your Favour as my Successour in the Empire; but it is far otherways, for two weighty Reasons, which I entreat you to hear patiently. Every Wise Natural Father, when he is about to dye, and leave young Ones behind him, makes choice of the fittest Friends for their Tutors and Administrators of their Affairs, till they come to the Years of Majority, and are capable to act for themselves; So a good Prince ought to be a Father to his Country, and whatever my Failings have been, I am sure, I still espous'd the Interest of the Empire, to the utmost of my Endeavours; and therefore, as a good Civil Parent, I ought to provide one,*



at least, who is fit to Rule over my belov'd Children, All, who live within the extent of this vast Empire; but being fully persuaded, That this unhappy Son of mine is not par negotio, I beseech you, make choice of another, fit for that Eminent Employment; and Thanks to the Gods, Rome is not so barren, but that divers qualify'd Persons may be found in the Senate, any of which, by the Consent of the People and Army, may become my immediate Successour. The Gods, who know all Things, know I have no Malice against my Son, and what pains I have taken to give him good Education, both by my Example, and especially, by searching all the Corners of the Empire, for well Qualify'd Tutors and Governours for his Youth, in which, you know, I was so nicely exact, that five of them I turn'd off, meerly for Laughing in the Amphitheater; concluding from thence, That they were not Grave enough to be Instructors of Youth: but after all my Endeavours, this unhappy Youth, now 18 Years of Age, is still become worse and worse; nay, the basest of Vices are so deeply rooted in him, that I am persuaded, nothing less than the stroak of Death will eradicate them: Seeing therefore he cannot Rule himself, I declare him utterly incapable of Governing the Roman Empire.

Yet in that Declaration, he was over-rul'd by his Friends, especially, the Officers of the Army, who, having caus'd the Young Man humbly crave his Father's Pardon for all his former Misdemeanours, and promise for the future to be entirely Rul'd by his Father's Counsellours, plainly told the Emperor, That the Army would have none other to Reign over 'em but his Son, not only as being his Son; but  
also



also because of his great Beauty, being the handsomest Youth in all the Empire; and withal, That since he had endeavour'd, as became a peaceable Prince, at all times to keep the Roman Empire in Peace, they hoped, he would not, now at the end of his Life, kindle that Fire among 'em, which two Contending Rivals would not fail to occasion. This last Suggestion, had the greatest Influence on the good Emperor, who yielded to their Importunity; but plainly fore-told what he fear'd, and afterwards came to pass: Well, said he, you must have your Will; but hear my dying Words; Happy had it been for the Empire, and for my self upon your account, that I had dy'd Childless; for I am persuaded, ye are to elevate a Phaeton, who with the fire of his Lusts and Rage, will at last consume you all: In which, he was found a true Prophet; for *Commodus* prov'd *omnibus incommodus*,

What this Emperour only design'd, another fully effectuated, namely the Greek Emperor *Calo Joannes*, a very good Prince, who, being on his Death Bed, call'd for the Nobility and others in chief Offices both in Church and State, and spoke to 'em much to the same purpose as *M. Aurelius* had done, ushering in his Discourse after this manner, That he had a greater kindness for his Loving People than to imitate the Vanity of *Augustus Caesar* (if some Historians have not bely'd him) in declaring such a vicious Person as was *Tiberius* to be his Successor, as a *Foil*, the better to set off himself; for if, said he, I could pretend to the perfections of that Emperour, no doubt my eldest Son might be a sufficient Patch to make my Beauty shine the more brightly;



ly; but knowing him to be of such a perverse Nature, I cannot find in my heart to suffer him to have Dominion over a People I Love so well, least they find by sad experience, that a *Tiberius*, a *Caligula*, a *Claudius*, a *Nero*, a *Vitellius*, a *Domitian*, a *Heliogabalus*, or some other Monster of Nature was reviv'd among 'em; or rather that a Legion of Devils had taken Possession of that one Body: and therefore obtested them by all that was sacred to make choice of his 2d Son *Emanuel*, whom he could freely recommend as one of much more agreeable Inclinations: In short, his importunity so far prevail'd, that all of 'em swore to do what he desired, and after his Death made good their Oath.

Here a notable observation offers it self, arising from the deportment of another Father in reference to his Son; namely *Antipater*, Governour of *Macedon*, and Protector of *Aridanus*, half Brother to *Alexander the Great*; His Son *Cassander*, when *Antipater* dy'd, was judged fit enough, for age, to be a Collonel of Horse, yet his Father prefer'd *Polysperchon*, one of *Alexander's* Captains, to the Protectorship, thinking him fitter for that Eminent Trust: but the event made it appear, that *Cassander* was the best qualifiyd of the two; for that old Villanous *Captain* betray'd all his Pupils to Death for a little Money: yet *Antipater* deserves to be approv'd, as one of a publick Spirit, in preferring, what he reckon'd the good of his Country, to the Honour of his own Family. If *Calo Joannes*, was so mistaken in his Election, the World could not know, because his eldest Son was never advanc'd to any Publick trust; but if the Father was not  
under



under a mistake, it seems the eldest Son has been one of the greatest Villains in nature, since the other, whom he so much magnified, was that same *Emanuel*, who most wickedly caused mix the Christians Meal with Lime, which had such a deleterious Quality, that, of a great Army, going to recover the Holy-Land, no fewer than 100000 dy'd of a violent Dyfentery.

I shall shut up this prudential Rule with a very Politick Device, for self and truth security; which bred in the Head of a Prince, who was never judged very Sagacious, namely that *Persian* Monarch *Artaxerxes Mnemon*; who having granted the beautiful *Aspasia* as a new Years Gift to his eldest Son *Darius*, immediately repented, when he call'd to mind, that she had been once Concubine to his Brother *Cyrus*, and next to himself; so that it being most unseemly to have such incestuous Conjunctions multiplyed in the Royal Family he confin'd her to a Nunnery, tho' she was not a pure *Vestal Virgin*: This appear'd such an affront in the Eyes of that unnatural Son, that nothing less than his Father's Life would satisfy his rage, and for carrying on such a barbarous design, associated himself with some of the Nobility, who were more apt to adore the *Sun rising* than the *Sun setting*. The King was at first slow to believe the truth of what some Trustees inform'd him of this Combination, not imagining, that one, come out of his Loynes, and lately by him solemnly declar'd his Successour, could prove so unnatural and ingrate as to have any hand in such an unworthy attempt: but being further assur'd, that the design was so undoubtedly certain,  
that



that it was determined, to Assassinate him, the next Morning, in his Bed; he resolv'd upon a Contrivance whereby he might be secure, and yet learn the truth of the matter, by seeing it with his own Eyes; for which end he caused, very privately, make out a Door at the back of his Bed, by which he might easily and safely pass into a large Gallery, if any such attempt should be made, and being careful that Morning, to keep himself awake, he plainly saw his own Son and divers Conspirators enter the Chamber and pull out their Swords, thinking the King was asleep, but before they reached his Bed, as old as he was, even above Eighty Years of Age, he made a shift to get from his Bed, through that Secret passage into that other Room: And being now fully persuaded of the truth by what he had seen, ordered the Murderers to be seized and Executed. And in my judgment the Son deserved the highest pinn, on many accounts.

The XVth EVIDENCE of Prudence in a *Generous Prince*, is to try well before he again trust a reconciled Enemy: It must needs be a very perplexed case to have to do with such, since it can only be known by the event, whither such a *New Trustee*, is indued with Generosity, or void of it; so that it sometimes frames well, and sometimes very ill with the too *Confident Prince*: when *Augustus Caesar* was inform'd of *Cinna's* Conspiracy, and closely consulted with his two great *Minions*, what kind of Death to inflict upon him; *Livia* getting in among 'em, advised to follow the method of Rational Physicians, in trying Lenitives before they come to Corrosives, for, *knowing Cinna to be very Generous, I hope*, said she,



she, you will find this the best course: The Emperour followed her advice, and calling for Cinna to a private Chamber, told him roundly, how that after he had been made Prisoner at Philippi, where he sided with his Enemies against him, he not only gave him his Life and Liberty, but also restored him his forfeited Estate, nay, made him high Priest, and at the next Election, design'd him for one of the Consuls; but such is your ingratitude (continued the Emperour,) that you intend to pollute the Principal Temple in Rome, with the Blood of your Benefactor, which it is in vain to deny, since I can prove it as clearly as the light: Yet once more I am ready to make a tryal of your Generosity, and therefore let us amicably contend which of us shall outvie the other, for the future, in Offices of true Friendship: Neither was Augustus again disappointed, for he found Cinna ever afterwards, one of his most faithful Friends, and when he dy'd, he left the Emperour sole Heir to a great Estate.

I have often admir'd the too great Confidence of *M. les Diguers*, tho' not a Prince, yet very Famous, both in France and all Europe, for Courage and Conduct in Martial Affairs, against the Leaguers in France, about 100 Years ago; and becoming Popish in his Old-Age was made one of the *Mareschals* of that Kingdom: He had a *Valet de Chambre*, who had serv'd him 10 or 12 Years, lying every Night in the Room with him; yet his Master being then Protestant, and somewhat hard upon the *Popish Skirts*; some Bigotted Papists hyred this Wicked Servant to Murder him in his Sleep; for which unworthy end, he caus'd a Blacksmith make a Sharp-pointed Dagger:



Dagger: His Master getting notice of all this, Imploy'd the same Workman to make two Daggers like the former, and producing them at Night, bid his Treacherous Servant choose either of 'em, and Fight him with *fair Play*, instead of designing to Butcher him in his Bed, like a base unthankful Wretch, as he was, to so kind and confident a Master. Whereupon, the silly Fellow falling down on his Knees, with many Tears acknowledg'd his Fault, and begg'd Pardon: Which the Generous Master not only gave him, in which he acted the part of a good Christian; but also restor'd him to his former Office and Trust: And in this, I think, he was too confident; tho' I read not of any bad Effect.

Such is the perverse nature of some haughty Great ones, that all the favours they receive from a Clement Prince, tho' of the highest degree, are *limn'd in Water and written in Dust*; but the supposed dishonour of their pretended injuries remains engraven upon Marble, and written with a Pen of Iron on the Table of the Heart; which will undoubtedly appear in Characters of Blood, whenever occasion offers for Revenge. A great many Instances of this nature might be given. Thus *Swiskius* became the head of the Faction of those *Russians*, who bereaved the Counterfeit *Demetrius* both of his Crown and Life, and set up that ingrate Nobleman in his place; who had taken it so ill that he had been once sentenc'd to die as a Traitor, tho' very justly, his Crime being so evident; but the new *Zar* thought fit to give him a Remission, because it was in the beginning of his Reign: and from hence we may see how well he re-  
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warded



warded that great Kindness. It is one of the Learn'd Dr. *Brown's* vulgar Errors, that the Ostrich digests Iron; but sure I am, that hard morsel would be sooner concocted, than some perverse natures can digest real or supposed Injuries, even from their own Sovereigns; so that 'tis dangerous to trust such Persons who are utterly Strangers to true Generosity and Charity: to which deprav'd humor, no doubt, Queen *Mary of England* alluded, when she usually said,

*My Father King Henry never taught me so,  
First to take a great Man, and then let him go.*

But if a Prince hath done some real injury or affront to any of his great Subjects, especially to Strangers, 'tis very dangerous afterwards to trust their Counsels, notwithstanding of any favour conferr'd on them by way of Compensation: for all the Favours under Heaven will not drown the Resentment of some Vindictive Natures, who will assuredly wait for the Prince's halting, and hasten it all they can: Thus the *Italian* Count of *Campobasso* behaved towards *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, who had, one day in a passion, struck him on the Face, which that malicious *Italian* could never digest, but waited for an opportunity of Revenge; notwithstanding the Duke caressed him, and followed his advice more than any others, which prov'd his ruin at last; for he still edg'd him forwards against the *Switzers*, till that ill advised Prince lost his Life at *Nancy*. But from this, we may see the great difference of Natural Tempers, *Philip De Comines* receiv'd that same *specifick* Injury from that too hasty Duke, the Count had met with, yet he was far from any Treasonable Designs



designs against him; tho' as a wise Man he thought fit to quit his Service, and betake himself to a Prince, who was a greater Master of his Passions, 'tho of more hid Malice; namely, *Lewis the XIth. of France.*

Such a Trust prov'd also very fatal to *Frederick the 2d, Emperor of Germany* and King of *Naples*, after he had done a greater Injury than the former, and with the aggravation of much Ingratitude: The Story is this, *Petrus De Vineis* a *Neapolitan* Nobleman, had been a very serviceable Subject to the said Emperor, appearing for him at the Council of *Vienn*, where Pope *Innocent the IVth* design'd to Excommunicate *Frèderick* with Bell, Book, and Candle; and arguing so strongly against the Injustice of it, from Divinity, Law and Reason; that if the *Pedarii Senatores* at that Council had not resolv'd, over the Belly of all these Impediments, to comply with the Pope's Will, they could never have consented to such an unjust Sentence: As *De Vineis* made appear at large, in a Book he publish'd for that same effect.

Yet this Unhappy Emperor, being afterwards Inform'd, or rather, as many think, maliciously Misinform'd, That this *Prime Counsellour* was Corresponding privately with the Popes against him; in a furious Passion, Commanded to pull out his Eyes: Which was no sooner done, than he repented of it, having none about him so capable to Advise him: Wherefore he came and crav'd him pardon, accknowledging the Truth of *Solomon's* Observe, *That Oppression makes a Wise Man Mad*: And when he was foreput to it by his Implacable Enemies the Popes, who had insti-



gated almost all Germany against him, tho' their Lawful Emperor, and knew not how to get Money to pay his Army; he had recourse to Blind *De Vineis* for Advice: But, by the Sequel, that of the Poet was verify'd:

*Manet alta mente repostum, &c.*

His Counsel was, That, Churchmen being his Aggressors, he should seize upon all the Gold and Silver Utensils in Churches through all the Kingdom of Naples, and Coin the same into Money for paying his Army; and gave this Reason for it; That a Tree is best cloven by a Wedge of it self: But as soon as he understood, That the Emperor had put this malicious Advice into Practice, he openly cry'd out, with great rejoycing, *I shall now shortly be aveng'd of the Emperor for my two Eyes, for God will not fail to Punish him for such a multitude of Sacrileges*: And when he had ended his Exultation, he beat out his own Brains on the Wall, lest the Emperor should have put him to a more tormenting Death.

It is yet more dangerous for a Prince, to do some great Dishonour to the Family of a Considerable Subject, and yet to Trust him as formerly, either as an intimate Counsellour, or General of his Forces: For the Lives of such too Confident Princes, at least, their Crowns, usually pay for their Folly. Who, knows not the Story of *Harpagus*, a Median Nobleman, whom King *Astyages* most Inhumanely caus'd Eat the Flesh of his own Son in a Pasty; because he had not Executed his Unnatural Order in putting to Death the Grand-Son of *Astyages*: But the King fondly imagining,



gining, That Time, the Devourer of all Things, had worn out the Father's Resentment; especially, considering his *compos'd Answer*, when he was surpriz'd with that *Prodigious Banquet*, like to that of *Tereus* and *Thyestes*, the Head and Feet of the butcher'd Child, being produc'd before him; *Every Feast* (said *Harpagus*) *is good with a King*: But since there was a great Error committed in the first Concoction, it prov'd such a hard Morsel, that 20 Years could not digest it. For when the Grand *Cyrus* advanc'd from *Persia* against his Grandfather, *Astyages* foolishly Committed the Conduct of all his Forces to the Injured *Harpagus*, who, without one Stroak given, deliver'd the whole Army into the Hands of his Pupil *Cyrus*; who confin'd his Unnatural Grandfather to *Hircania*.

*Frederick* the last King of the *Goths* in *Spain*, was such another foolish Prince: for having Ravish'd the Daughter of Count *Julian*, one of the Queen's Ladies of Honour, he nevertheless continu'd the Father in his former Trust, both in the South of *Spain*, and in *Africa*; for the *Gothish* Kings of *Spain*, had some Interest in *Mauritania*, ever since they had taken Possession of *Spain*: Which continu'd Trust gave sufficient Opportunity to the Inrag'd Father to bring the *Moors* into *Spain*, who not only depriv'd that Adulterous Ravisher of his Crown and Life, but also kept such Footing there, that notwithstanding of the wonderful Achievements of *Pelagius* against 'em in the Northern Parts, they could not be driven from the Southern Parts of it, till eight Ages were almost at an end; I mean, by the Wisdom and Valour of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*,

*Roderick*



King and Queen of *Castile*, who made *Granada*, the last of their Kingdoms there, sink at last under the weight of their Scepter.

But the Dishonour done to a Family, by committing a Rape upon the Wife, sinks deeper into the Heart of a Generous Husband, than an Injury done to any of his Children : I shall therefore give two Instances of foolish Princes, who, after they have been guilty of such a Rape, most inconsiderately trusted the Injur'd Husband. I begin with what was Acted nigher to us, both as to time and place, reserving the other to the last place, as being a Complex of many Tragedies, and that which usher'd in the Ruin of the Western Empire. We read in the *Belgick* History, of one of the Earls of *Holland*, (who were indeed Considerable Princes for divers Ages) that endeavouring to persuade a Gentleman, one of his Favourites, and a Batchelor, to Marry a young Lady about Court, with whom the Prince (tho' Marry'd) was thought too familiar; the Knight, like a *Knight Errant*, answer'd him too saucily, *I will not*, said he, *put my Feet into another Man's old Shoes*; and went up to *Higher Germany*, and Espous'd a very Chaste and Accomplish'd Lady : The Earl, not seeming to resent what was said, sent the New Marry'd Man into *Italy*, under the Notion of an Ambassadour, and Visiting the Lady in his Absence, at last forc'd her, when he found he could not otherways obtain his Unlawful Desires; and then bid her tell her Husband, *He behov'd to wear his old Shoes* : Which so rankled the Injur'd Knight, who imputed the Affront rather to Malice, than Love or Lust, that he rested not till the injurious Prince was dispatch'd;







being able by open Force to Cope with his Prince, he desir'd her to have a little Patience, assuring her, he should not sleep a sound sleep till he was sufficiently aveng'd; and that nothing but the Heart-blood of the Injurer, should satisfy for that irreparable loss of her Honour.

To carry on his Design the more closely, he went to Court next Day, and many Days afterwards, without the least appearance of Displeasure; so that the Emperour firmly believ'd, the injur'd Lady had conceal'd his Shame from him, and therefore Carefs'd him more than formerly, till at last he made him his most intimate Counsellour; which was the very thing that revengeful Hypocrite was driving at; for then, under great Protestations of Love and Respect to the Emperour, he fail'd not to Insinuate, That the Gallant *Ætius* was become a dangerous Subject, since he had given that famous Defeat to *Attila* and his *Hunns* in the *Catalonian* Plains; that he had the Army at his *Beck*, and was the only *Darling of the People* for his Gallantry and Generosity; and that, as he was a Man of deep Ambition, so of late he was become so Popular, that, he fear'd, nothing less would satisfy him, than an Imperial Crown: All this he buzz'd so often in the Emperour's Ear, that he caus'd privately Murder him. who was, under God, the greatest support of the Western Empire; for his great Wisdom in the Arts of War and Peace; on which account, one of the Senators, from whom, *Valentinian* expected Approbation for dispatching such a dangerous Subject, told him; as is already mention'd, *That he had cut off his own Right Hand with his left.*

This



This fatal Mine thus sprung by *Maximus*, was not levell'd meerly at *Ætius*, against whom, he had no particular Malice, but ultimately at the Emperour, whom he resolv'd to blow up thereby; and was not disappointed in his destructive Design: For tho' *Ætius* had many Friends and great Relations, having been thrice Consul, and sole General of the *Roman* Army for many Years; yet so secretly was he dispatch'd, that none of 'em knew it to be done by the Emperour's Order, till *Maximus* inform'd them, fathering that Villany solely on *Valentinian*, as if himself had no Hand in it, protesting, how much he detested such an Unjust and Ingrate Prince on that Account, and offering his Assistance in avenging themselves on such a base Murderer: Which Discourse, not only animated them to bereave that Vicious Prince of his Life; but also to bestow the Western Empire on him, who so chearfully and vigorously Concurr'd with 'em, tho' he was not related to *Ætius*, either by Consanguinity or Affinity.

But some days before this Tragedy was acted, the injured Lady dy'd of Melancholy, and had not the Satisfaction to Usurp the Imperial Bed, as *Maximus* had done the Throne; so that, in a manner, he compell'd the Royal Dowager to accept of him for her second Husband: but *quos Jupiter vult perdere eos dementat*, especially where Blood calls for Blood; for this new Bridegroom was so infatuated, that designing to give his new Spouse a Demonstration of his great affection, he plainly told her, that tho' he had no small kindness for the Emperor, yet Loving the Empress infinitely more, as soon as his own Wife dy'd, he



he had contriv'd the ruin of her Husband, that he might enjoy so Lovely a Person: Whereupon *Eudoxia* conceived such indignation and detestation against him, that she privately invited *Genfericus*, King of the *Vandals* in *Africk*, to come over speedily, and rescue her out of the Hands of her Husband's Murderer; which that Cruel and Avaritious Prince was not slow to do, and coming unexpectedly with a great Navy and Army, found no resistance; for tho' *Maximus* had a ploding Head, yet he had no Hands to Act, but betook himself to his Heels, after he heard that the *Vandals* were Landed, which so intraged his own Guards, that they Stoned him to Death as a base Traiterous Coward, for about that time *Eudoxia* had publisht how he had Murderd his Sovereign. But poor Rome payed for all, being expos'd for 14 days to the pillage of the *Vandals*, a more unmerciful Enemy than was *Alarick* with his *Goths* sometime before, who removed the 3d day after the City surrender'd, tho' it had cost him two Years Siege.

Having all along observ'd, how it pleaeth God in his infinite Justice and Wisdom, to make wicked Men, and many times great Princes, read their Sins in their Judgments, even in this Life; an observation very edifying to all who have grace to lay it to Heart! I shall therefore, before I end this point, briefly make appear, that the Gallant *Ælius* might have read his Sin in his Punishment; if the Murderers had given him time to reflect upon it: All the World believed he was Maliciously Calumniated, as to any design he had upon the Empire for himself, having so often expos'd his

Life



Life to hazard for the defence of it; but as he was very *brave*, so, it seems, he affected the *Monopoly of Valour*, and therefore envy'd *Boniface* Proconsul of *Africk*, as one who for Gallantry, was (by many) put into the same Category with himself: he being the same *Bonifacius Comes*, to whom *S. Augustin* directed diverse of his Epistles, and frequently magnifies, as an eminent Christian; besides his great Courage and Conduct in time of Peace and War: *Sed semel insanivimus omnes.*

For hearing that *Ætius* had so undermin'd him, in the Court of *Valentinian*, as one designing to set up for himself in *Africk*, and that the Emperour was about to call him home, and bestow his Office upon one *Castinus*, an unworthy Man and his Enemy; in a rage, he call'd in *Gunderick* with his Vandals, who were glad of such an Honourable pretence, since the *Goths* were proving too hard for them in *Spain*: But as soon as *Boniface* discover'd the perfidioulness of that new Auxiliary, and his Cruelty towards the *Orthodox* in *Africk* (being a bigot *Arian* Heriteck) he greatly repented of what he had done, when he could not help it; nor could the whole *Roman* Empire help it, till they were at last driven out by *Belisarius*, in the days of *Justinian*, after they had possess'd a great part of *Africk* about 120 Years. I shall only, in a word, add the reason why I said, the complicated Tragedy above Narrated, Usher'd in the ruin of the Western Empire: 'Tis true, it ended neither in *Valentinian*, nor *Maximus*, but in *Augustulus*; and betwixt *Maximus* and *Augustulus*, inclusive, there were no fewer than 9 or 10, intitled Emperours of the West; but 'tis no



no less certain, that they reign'd not twenty Years amongst them all, and were of so little Note, as scarce to make any figure in History, and therefore might have been term'd *Diminutives*, as well as the last; all of 'em being but *magni nominis umbra*.

The XVIth EVIDENCE of Prudence in a Generous Prince, is to serve himself, both in Offensive and Defensive Wars, with the Natives of his own Dominions, if they can learn the Art of War; rather than make use of Mercenaries or Auxiliaries from other Nations, because they are seldome found so trustie as the Natives. I must prosecute this and the following Particulars more briefly than what is before represented, finding this Treatise is already swell'd beyond the Bulk, at first design'd: I shall therefore for the future, give only some short Hints in stead of large Historical Illustrations, for what the Poet said in another Case, may be here applyed:

*Inopem me copia fecit:*

Yet if it please God to prolong the frail Life of a *Septuagenarius* a little further, *facile est inventis addere*; unless the cold entertainment, 'tis to be fear'd, this *Essay* shall meet with in the World, do altogether discourage such another attempt.

The Romans, tho' Originally a nest of Robbers, were certainly rais'd by Divine Providence to Civilize and Teach the World true Politicks, in many concerns both of Peace and War; tho' they were not at first very numerous, yet they trusted more to their own Natives, than Auxiliaries or Mercenaries: 'tis true, when they subdu'd the petty contiguous Nations, they oblig'd 'em  
to



to give their assistance in the Wars, against their Enemies: but this they so cautiously made use of, that in all probability, it could not master the Roman Legions; the Treachery of the *Albans* having taught them, very early, this piece of Policy, even in the days of their 3d King, *Tullus Hostilius*. But it was bad Policy in *Constantine the Great*, wherewith the *Pagan Zosimus* justly upbraids him, in removing the Old Roman Colonies from the *Rhine* and *Danau*, under pretence of settling them in *Asia*, in opposition to the *Persians*, opening thereby a Flood-gate to the inundations of the *Barbarians* upon the Roman Empire; for tho' he had settled some Legions there, in place of the Old, yet it could not be expected, that these Mercenaries would fight *pro aris & focis*, as the former; the hireling, says our Saviour in a more Spiritual sense, being ready to run away when the Wolfe is a coming, because the Sheep are not his own; but the owner is ready to lay down his life for the Sheep: and thus Young David adventur'd to pull a Lamb out of the Paws of the Lyon, because it was a part of his Father's flock.

Many Instances might be given, of Auxiliaries or Mercenaries their proving very pernicious to those who imploy'd them, when they were either supernumerary, or of more Courage and Conduct: I shall only touch upon a few. The Old Britons by calling in too many of the Saxons to aid them against the Scots and Picts, became at last such a Prey to their Auxiliaries, that they were constrain'd to leave the most fertile places, and nestle in the most Barren and Mountainous Parts in the Isle, to this day. Long afterwards,  
the



the little King of *Leimster* in *Ireland*, being doubly wronged by his bad Neighbour Prince in *Meath*, (as *Lilius Giraldus* reports) sought aid from *Henry* the II. of *England*; who took such a severe Course with the King of *Meath*, that he eradicated all those five petty Princes (*Leimster* among the rest) and ever since hath made the old Isle subject to the Crown of *England*.

The Vicegerents of the *Greek* Emperours in *Calabria*, and *Apulia*, called then *Magna Græcia*, imploy'd so many mercenary *Normans* to aid them against the *Saracens*, who were still making Incursions upon 'em, from the Isle of *Sicily*; that at last, the *Normans* drove both *Greeks* and *Saracens* from the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and possessed the same under the Title of Kings of both *Sicils*. The *Turks* handled the *Caliphs* of *Persia* at the same rate, for their Chieftain *Tangrolipix*, finding the *Asiatick* effeminacy, took the Crown to himself. And if we go a little further Eastward, we have another Example of the unfaithfulness of *Auxiliaries*; for the fourth Son of *Tamerlane*, who was settled in a part of the Old *Persian* Empire bordering on the River *Indus*, being invited by an *Indian* Prince on the other side of that River, to assist him against one of his Neighbours in *Industan*, so shuffled his Cards, that in a short time, he made himself Master of almost all hither *India*, which comprehends many great kingdoms, betwixt *Ganges* and *Indus*, over all which his posterity have Reign'd, ever since, under the Title of the great *Mogul* of *India*.

They must needs be Strangers to the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* Histories, who know not, that



that the State of *Carthage*, after the first *Punic* War, had, in all appearance, been pluck'd up by the roots, by their own Mercenaries, had it not been for the most Politick conduct of *Hamilcar*, Father to the famous *Hannibal*; but what *Spartacus* with his Associates could not do against their Masters in *Carthage*, was long afterwards effectuated by *Turcumenius* and his *Mammalucks* in *Ægypt*; for these were originally *Circassian* Slaves, bought from their Parents, by the *Turkish* Kings of *Ægypt*, and trained up as are the *Turkish Janizaries*; but at last became so numerous and powerful, that they seiz'd on the *Ægyptian* Crown, and Lorded it over that Lazy and Effeminate People, almost 300 years; till *Selimus* the Ist. put a Period to that *Dynastie*. An. 1517. These *Turkish Caliphs* were serv'd in the same measure, as they had done to the *Saracen Caliphs*; who being overpowered by *Almericus* King of *Jerusalem*, crav'd aid from *Noradin* Sultan of *Damascus*, who sent him such a Power of Men, as not only drove away the Christians, but also snatch'd away the Crown from him, who had intreated their aid; because those Nations were of the same Religion, or rather damnable Superstition.

Nay even in *America*, *Ferdinand* or *Herman Cortez* having Landed among those Nations who were at enmity with the *Maxicans*, they employ'd him to go along with 'em, against their Enemies, and pay'd him well for his pains; but the event was, he not only conquer'd that Rich Kingdom of *Mexico*, but also subdu'd those Nations to the King of *Spain*; for tho' they had furnish'd him with more than a Myriad for every Hundred he had in his



his little Army of *Spaniards*, yet they were but a pack of Timorous and Naked Savages, and so ignorant, that, if we believe *Peter Martyr* and *Joseph Accosta*, they imagin'd his Ships under Sail, were *Living Creatures*; and his few Horsemen, so many Centaurs. I might add diverse old Stories to this purpose; as the calling of *Philip of Macedon* into *Greece*, to assist the *Thebans* against the *Phocians*, which brought all *Greece* in a manner under his Command: So did the *Romans* possess all *Sicily*, under pretence of aiding the Timorous natives against the *Corthaginians*: and by assisting the *Ætolians* against *Perses*, united to their Empire all the Kingdom of *Macedon*, with the barren Country of their first Inviters. But the foregoing Instances sufficiently prove, that to invite so great a number of Succours, as from *Assistants*, may become, *Masters*; is a dangerous Rock, which every wary *State-Pilot* should carefully avoid; remembering that of the Poet,

*Fœlix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*

or another to the same purpose.

*Tum tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.*

The XVIIth, EVIDENCE of Prudence in a Generous Prince is, to make choice of Ministers of State, and Officers of his Army, who are at least, *Pares Negotio*; tho' according to *Tacitus*, they who are *supra*, are most desirable: Among the *Romans*, the way to the Temple of Honour, was through the Temple of



of Vertue; to shew, That none should arrive at Offices and Preferments, but such as pass'd through the Porch of Vertue: The same ought to be done, as to the Designation of Church Governours, till Christian Princes are Convinc'd, That it is fit for them to trace the Foot steps of *S. Lewis of France*, who would have that *Sacred Election* to run in the Ancient Channel, directly according to the Primitive Pattern; for they, who are sincerely true to God, will be found most faithful to their Prince.

It is a good Politick Advice of *Don Diego Savedra Faxardo*, To imploy the Wealthiest of the Nobility in Places and Trusts, which require Pomp and Expence; such as Honourable Embassies: But in Military Affairs, the Case is alter'd; for unless a General be the true Son of Mars for Courage, and of Minerva for Conduct, let his Blood be never so Noble, the Army will soon go to Ruin; Nay, if one of very mean Extract be found to excel in both, he will be sure to carry away the inward Value and Admiration of the Soldiers, when all the Deference pay'd to Blood will be meer Ceremony, not real Respect. This was testify'd, long agoe by *Tacitus*, of the Germans, That they chose their Kings, for their Nobility; but their Generals, only for their Valour: Thus it was good Counsel the King of Syria's Servants gave him, after his great Defeat by the *Israe- lites*, That he should remove his 32 Tributary, or Auxiliary Kings, and put Captains in their rooms; that is, Men of Valour and Skill to Order his Forces aright. And 'tis too well known by the frequent, and sad Experience of Britain, that the preferring of Young



Raw Soldiers, ignorant of Military Affairs, meerly for being *Cadets* of great Families, hath prov'd the Bane of great Armies.

It was wisely observ'd by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, That *Darius Codomannus* behov'd to be a very Inconsiderate Prince, for placing at his Chiefest Posts, such as *Damascus*, *Babylon*, *Susa*, *Persepolis* and *Ecbatan*, where his greatest Treasure did ly, such insignificant Governours, and so unfaithful to their Trust, that instead of making any Defence, they met the Conquerour on the way, and deliver'd him the Keys of those great and rich Forts: Whereas he had trusted, only the little City *Gaza*, to the Gallantest Man he had in the whole Empire, after the Death of the Valiant *Memnon*; for he kept his Ground as long as possibly he could, without any more regard to *Alexander's* Greatness, than that Insolent Conquerour shew'd to his Meanness. King *James* the Vth of Scotland, erred in preferring one *Oliver Sinclair* to the Command of his Army against the English, being a mean Gentleman, and of no great skill in the War; for thus he disgusted the Nobility, (who, *ceteris paribus*, ought indeed to be preferr'd on many Accounts) the Issue of which was so bad, that the most part of the Army, without striking one stroak yielded to a very inconsiderable number. It was also a great error in that good Prince King *Charles* the Martyr, in Imploying a spruce Courtier, the Duke of *Buckingham*, perhaps, better acquainted with the Intrigues of *Venus*, than the Fatigues of *Mars*; both as Admiral by Sea, and General at Land, in order to the Relief of *Roche*: But it was yet a greater error to renew a Commission to him, who



who had so dishonourably and pitifully misbehav'd at the Isle of *Rhee*; and I am apt to believe, it was for the Honour of the Kingdom that *Felton* put an end to his new Commission. *Lodwick Sforza*, was likewise guilty of a great error in committing the Conduct of his Army to *Galeaz St. Severin*, against *Lewis* the XIIth of *France*, one, who understood little of Martial Affairs, however Dexterous he was in managing Horses. And *Antiochus the Great*, was thought a great Fool, for not trusting the Famous *Hannibal* with the Conduct of his Army; for, by making him only one of his Admirals, he put him out of his proper *Element*; so that he had enough to do, with all his Stratagems, to extricate himself from the Snares of the *Rhodians*,

It is a greater Reflection on the Judgments of Princes, to be mistaken in the Intellectuals of their Confidants, than their Morals; the sincerity of the latter, being only obvious to the *Omniscient*: Thus *Theodosius the Great*, tho' a Good and Wise Prince, yet never any was more mistaken as to his *Trustees*, than he, in appointing *Ruffinus* Tutor to his Son *Arcadius* in the East, and *Stilico* to the younger *Honorius* in the West; for such was the Ambition of the former, that he design'd to constrain his *Royal Pupil* to make him his *Conjunct* in the East; and tho' the Poet *Claudian*, in excellent Heroick Verse, abaseth *Ruffinus* to Hell for his Treachery, and exalteth *Stilico* to the Heavens for Fidelity; yet he was soon found as great a Knave as the other: for not being satisfy'd with the Honour of having his Pupil twice his Son-in-law (the Eldest Daughter dying before she came to the Royal Bed)



nothing would please him unless his own Son was Emperour in place of his Son-in-law: But when they had their deserv'd *Exits*, these simple Princes begun to Trust those, who were judg'd very Unfaithful by the whole Empire; and had not Divine Providence, almost miraculously, preserv'd *Arcadius*, (perhaps for his Father's sake) *Gainas* the Goth, whom he had made his Confident, would have snatch'd the Imperial Crown to himself: As for *Honorius*, tho' the Church Historians magnify him for his Zeal against Hereticks and Schismatics, especially, the *Arians* and *Donatists*; yet he was guilty of such Supine Negligence, that tho' the old Seat of the Empire was Besieg'd two Years by the *Goths*, when he was told at *Ravenna*, That Rome was lost; he apprehended, it was a *Cock of the Game*, so call'd.

I only add to this Head, That 'tis the great Concern of all Princes, seasonably to Reward those, who acquit themselves honourably in the Wars, and carefully to provide for the *miles emeritus*, and the Widows and Children of such, who Dye for their King and Country: It was undoubtedly, one of the principal means of the great Success of the *Romans*, That they, who signaliz'd themselves in the Field of *Mars*, were sure to be solemnly Honour'd; there being divers kinds of Crowns appointed for those, whom their General observ'd to behave Valiantly: the intrinsic Value of the thing was inconsiderable; but the Solemnity of the Honour inflam'd Generous Minds, as being the only valuable Price of their Blood; and as Sir *Francis Bacon* well observes, *The Roman Triumph was so far from being*



being a matter of meer Pageantry, that it was an admirable piece of Policy. All these Roman Marks of Honour are fallen in desuetude long ago; but the Knighting under the King's Standard, was judg'd their most proper *Succedaneum*, it being accounted a great Honour, to be term'd *Knights Bannerets*, till the Dignity became *foul and common*; so that it is far less valu'd than formerly: As was the *Ostracism* at *Athens*, tho' a kind of Punishment, when inflicted on mean and unworthy Persons: But when Honour becomes *Saleable*, it cannot but be render'd *Ignominious*; since the Buyer of every Honourable Office, is too prone to verify that Old Satyr,

*Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.*

Montaigny, in his *Essays*, acknowledg'd, His greatest Ambition, when a Young Man, was to be *Knight of the Order of St. Michael*; but when he became Old, he was asham'd to be accounted one of that Number; *Henry the Illd* having prostituted the same to many unworthy Persons, or to give it in the Words of the Famous *Thuan*, it was become, *omnium Bestiarum Collare*.

The XVIIIth EVIDENCE of Prudence in a *Generous Prince*, is found in the constant Practice of that Sound Advice of the Poet to all Men,

*Alterius non sit qui suus esse potest.*

The Wifest Politicians conclude, It is much fitter for Princes to Treat about their weightiest Controversies by the Mediation of Wise



Ambassadors, than Personally; such *Royal Interviews* seldom doing any Good, but often much Evil; even when their *Safe Conducts*, *hinc inde*, prov'd secure enough. Thus, as *Philip De Comines* observes, the merry Communication of his Royal Master Lewis the XIth, with Edward the IVth of England, at Amiens, signify'd nothing as to the Union of their Hearts. But the interview 'twixt the said King of France, and Henry the IVth of Castile, occasion'd so much Mischief, by the mutual Undervaluings of their respective Retinues, that the same Judicious Historian dates from that *Æra*, the great Antipathies, and irreconcilable Animosities that have ever since continu'd both betwixt these Royal Families and the two Nations.

But 'tis a most Imprudent Act, for one Prince, unnecessarily, and without Safe Conduct, to put his Life, or Liberty in the Power of another; unless that other, was assuredly endu'd with Angelical Perfections: On this Account, I have often admir'd, the Infatuation of such a Subtil Prince as was Lewis the XIth of France, in casting himself into the Arms of Charles Duke of Burgundy, so well known to be a *Mad-Cap*; especially, when 'tis consider'd, that not long before, he had Employ'd private Emissaries to sollicite the People of *Leige* to Rebel against the said Duke, who was their Superiour, as Duke of *Brabant*: But tho' the King had forgot that piece of bad Neighbourhood; yet as soon as the Duke heard, They had Revolted by the Sollicitations of the *French*, he forgot not to place a strong Guard about the Castle of *Peron*, and not only made his Royal Guest close Prisoner, but



but, in all probability, would have bereav'd him of his Life, in his furious Passion, had not the King been privately Advis'd, by *De Comines*, the Duke's Servant, to yield to all his Desires: So that he profess'd a great willingness to concur with the Duke in Reducing *Leige*: But after he got his Liberty, I suppose, the greatest Oratory could never persuade him to make another Visit.

Many have tax'd the Prudence of Queen *Mary* of Scotland, for flying into *England*, without a *Safe Conduitt*, tho' her Incens'd Subjects gave her no leisure to wait for it; and how fatal the Consequence was, is too well known: For she had Years enough, in her Captivity, to repent of her Rashness, when she could not help it. Her Son, King *James* the Ist of *Great Britain*, for all his great Learning, erred greatly in point of Prudence, in sending his only Son, and the apparent Heir of the Crown, incognito to *Spain*, both without Necessity, and a *Safe Conduitt*; for the *Spaniards* might have as justly pretended, he was a *Royal Spy*, come to search the Land, under the Notion of seeking a Wife, as *Joseph* said to his Brethren, when they came really with a Design to Buy Food, and us'd him accordingly: It was no wonder, that all the Wise Men in *Europe* reckon'd that Temerarious Project the effect of Dotage; since his own old Buffoon implicitly upbraided him with the Folly of it, by telling him, That of all the Kings of the Earth, he was likest to the King of Heaven, who had but one Son, and yet sent him among the Jews to be Crucify'd. But that ridiculous Adventure, was certainly owing to that Sly Count *Gondamor*, who, tho a Stranger



and a publick Spy for many Years, under the notion of a *Leiger Ambassadour*; yet had got such an Ascendant over the *Old King*, that he Trepan'd him into many unaccountable Courses; of which, the making the Famous *Raleigh*, shorter by the Head, was none of the least.

But this *Spanish Knight Errantry*, was such a rare Adventure, that it remains, as yet, a great Mystery to this inferiour World; some have Talk'd of a Design to secure the Person of the Prince, had he not seasonably escap'd: And others, more wildly, of an Intention to bereave him of more than his Liberty, had not the Circumstances of his only Sister contributed to his Preservation, since it was not the Interest of the House of *Austria*, to procure her a solid Title to three Crowns more than she had grasp'd already; but all such grope in the dark, and very Uncharitably; it being the most laudable Character of an Historian, which is given by the great Orator, *Ne quid falsi audeat, & ne quid veri non audeat*. So that, in my Opinion, *Philip the IVth* was Candid in his Treaty of Marriage, and generous in his Conduct of Hospitality; and the *Infanta* did sincerely entertain that *Royal Proposal* (the *Germans* having good reason to magnify her, for her Modesty, Discretion and Vertue, when she became their Empress: ) But the Pride, Lust and Jealousy of the two insolent principal Favourites of the respective Crowns, gave the first occasion to that dishonourable Breach, which, in end, made a Nuptial Treaty, to have too near an Alliance, with that Inhumane Wooing of *Caracalla*, above-mention'd.

The XIXth EVIDENCE of Prudence in a  
Generous



*Generous Prince*, is to espouse the true Interest of his People, to the utmost of his Endeavours; by carefully shunning, as the greatest Plague of Politicks, the having any separate Interest from them; by taking pleasure to promote their Trade and Wealth; and by being most shy to impose extraordinary Taxes upon them, without necessity: Of each of these three Particulars, I shall say but a little, of what might be copiously represented.

As to the first, 'tis justly concluded by Judicious Statesmen, That the true Interests of Kings and People, Courts and Parliaments are One, and that they are like the Humours in the Natural Body, if you increase one beyond its due limits, it destroys all the rest, and it self at last; and when they look upon themselves as mutual Enemies, and that Hot and Cold must fight, the prevailing Part is abated in the Conflict, and the vanquish'd is destroyed: But when they consider themselves, only as Varieties serving the different Respects and Necessities of the same Politick Body, they are for the alloy of each others Exorbitancies and Excesses; so that by keeping their own Measures, they preserve the whole: there being nothing more harsh to the Ear, and irksome to the Imagination of a good Prince or Subject, than the frequent Clamours of *Prerogative and Privilege*, of *Court and Country Parties*. The Emperour *Nerva*, the first of these *Golden Excrefencies*, according to *Domitian's* Dream, was far from entertaining such divisive Sentiments: for when his Wife was displeas'd, that he expended a considerable Portion of his own private Estate for the behoof of the Publick, he plainly rold her,

That



*That the General Interest of the Commonwealth had so swallow'd up his particular Concern, that now they were become all one. And the Emperor Adrian usually profess'd, He was but an Ususfructuary and Administrator of the Publick Revenues of the Empire, and that they belong'd originally to the People. Nay, the great Antigonus, tho' a very Supercilious Prince, said, more then once, to his Son Demetrius, who inclin'd too much to Tyranny, Knowest thou not that our Kingdom is but a Noble Slavery.*

I shall usher in the Illustration of the 2d particular, with one of the notable sayings of *Alphonso, King of Arragon and Naples, That it should be the Study of a King to make his People Rich; for then, the Prince cannot be Poor*: and for the same effect, that excellent Prince remitted a great part of the former impositions, which he found upon the Kingdom of *Naples*: It was also an usual Apothegme of *Constantius Chlorus*, that his Treasure consisted in the wealth of his People: thus when his Collegues in the Empire, *Dioclesian, Maximianus*, and *Galerius*, upbraided him by their Ambassadors, that he was a Poor Prince and had an empty Exchequer; he sent Word speedily, but privately, to the Wealthiest Men in his Jurisdiction, who in a few days, so fill'd his Treasury, that the Ambassadors declared, *there was not so much Gold and Silver amongst all his Collegues*; but when they were gone, he restored every Man his entire proportion, according to their respective Notes.

But a well manag'd Foreign Trade, being the *Vena Porta* of the Wealth of a Nation, the promoting of it, should be one of the chiefest Cares



Cares of a Prince : Never any Sovereign was more solicitous in this, than the Famous Queen *Elisabeth* ; for she Recommended her Merchants to the greatest Princes in the World, and obtain'd great Privileges for them, both from Christian, and Infidel Princes ; such as the *Great Turk*, the *Sophi of Persia*, and the *Mogul of India* ; of which *Hackluit*, in his *Voyages*, gives a large Account, as also of the Original and first Rise of the *English Traffick* in the Empire of *Russia*, and the Intercourse by Letters 'twixt that Masculine Queen and *Joannes Basilides* : And tho' the *Polonian* Writers have represented that Czar, as a *Monstrous Tyrant* ; yet in his Epistles to that Queen, and Transactions with the *English Factors*, he manifests a deal of Civility. Nay, there was not a Merchant, she had Authoriz'd to Trade any where, whose Injuries by Sea or Land, when they came to her Knowledge, escap'd her just Resentment : And I'm persuaded, if that Massacre of divers Trafficking Subjects in *Amboina*, had fallen out in her Time, as it did in the Days of her immediate Successour, she would have resented it more Generously, than has been yet done.

It is well observ'd by some Judicious Historians, That *Old Rome* grew upon the World, not only by their Arms and that *Jus Civitatis*, they imparted to many Strangers, Cities and Nations ; but especially, by the many Colonies they Planted in Europe, Asia and Africa ; and no doubt, would have done the same in the New World had it been known to the Old. All Good and Wise Princes, who design to enlarge their Dominions by Just Methods, are always ready, when Occasion offers, to follow



• In Pari ju-  
reme hoc est  
conditio  
possidentis.

low the laudable Example of the *Romans*, when they Planted in a *pure Soil*; that is, where People are not Displanted to give place to others, which is rather an Extirpation, than a Plantation; but when 'tis done with Consent of some few *Aborigines*, or *Natives*, it does well; or when 'tis *solum Vacuum, vel Derelictum*, the Possession of it resembles the Primitive Work of the first Planters of the \* World. Without all peradventure, the Ancient *Romans*, had they known *America*, and been resolv'd to Plant a *New Colony* there, would have laugh'd heartily, if any Prince had told 'em, That the *Pontiff* of their Religion, had bestow'd all that Land on him, and therefore it was Unlawful for any other to set Foot there; and no doubt, they would have Answer'd, That their great *Flamen* had the same Authority to make a Gift of the *Old World*, as he to give away the *New*; and that was none at all.

The same answer was given by the *French*, *English*, *Dutch*, *Scots*, and *Danes*, to the *Spaniards*; who pretended, that Pope *Alexander* the 6th had bequeathed all *America* to the *King of Spain*; and with the same liberty (forsooth) had bestow'd the east Indies upon the *King of Portugal*: they further added, that tho' their Arch-priest had been a much better Man than the said *Alexander*, (a supposition very practicable) yet he had no lawful Power to give away one foot of that Land, which properly belongs to the *Roman Church*: the *English*, therefore, found no scruple of Conscience to take Possession of some Vacancies in *America*, in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*, and since that time; the first *Planters* being greatly encouraged



raged by that *Wise Princess*, and by K. James the I. For they considered that as Money is the Nerves of War, so also the Sinews of Plantation, and that planting of Countries is like the planting of Woods; the planter must make account to loose almost 20 Years profit, and expect his recompence in the end; which being too heavy for a private Purse, all Wise Princes, and cordial well-wishers of their Country, were therefore so far from discourtenancing and disheartning any *private Adventurers*, whose best laid designs are soon blasted, if the Face of Authority frown upon 'em; that they still caus'd the publick adopt all those Plantations, which promised great things; and fail'd not to encourage so good a Work, by furnishing them with Men, Money, and Counsel.

The sound negative Advice which was usually given them, may be found, for the most part, in the discourse of the most Judicious Lord *Verulam*, concerning Plantations; It is, said he, a shameful and unblest thing to take the Scum of the People, and wicked Condemned Men, to be the People with whom you Plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the Plantations, for they will ever live like Rogues and never fall to Work, but be Lazie and doe Mischief, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their Country, to the dishonour of the Plantation; and thus many of the first Plantations of America by those of France and Britain were soon deserted, because the Adventurers had at first failed to bring over with 'em the direct Antipodes, to the Character here given, viz. honest Labourers, who either as Proprietars or Servants, were ready



ready to espouse that Interest to the utmost of their endeavours, as that which would gain an honest Livelihood to themselves; but above all, such, and only such as truly *fear God*, as to all human appearance, for they who are true to him, will be faithful to Man: but when the most of Planters are neither the one nor the other, that *Plantation* soon becomes a *Desolation*,

All such adventurers, if there is necessity for it, *ought to have*, like *Nehemiah's* builders, *a Working Tool in one Hand, and a Sword in the other*; they should be industrious in their Work, and Courageous against their Enemies, when attack'd by them: Yet no Wise Man would advise our Planters to imploy such a Crew as resorted to Young *David* in the Wilderness, to wit, *every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was Discontented*: there was then some Necessity for it, their design being, not to plant, but to oppose all those who were ready to supplant both their *Captain* and all their *retinue*: But I'm afraid, too many such were, without necessity, imploy'd by the *Scots* adventurers at *Darien*, who had neither Industry, Honesty, nor Courage; and it is too well known, what came of it: I shall only desire the Ingenuous Reader to take a short view of a *French* Plantation in *Florida*, so like to that *Darien Tragedy*, tho' more than 100 Years before it, that they exactly resemble one another, in every Circumstance, except the revenge upon the *Spaniards*, and the *French* keeping their ground, till they were overpower'd by a greater number. This *French Tragedy* may be seen at Large, in a Treatise,  
writ



writ by *Laudonerius*, one of the Governours in *Florida*, and publisht by *R. Hackluit* in his Voyages, of which Narrative their is an Epitome in the 44th Book of the great *Thuan's* famous Histoty; which I have here abridg'd,

In the Year 1561, the famous *Coligni*, Admiral of *France*, being very studious of the Honour and Profit of his Nation, and the propagation of that Religion he himself profess'd, sent one *Ribbald* of *Diepe*, a Protestant, with two Ships, well furnish'd with all Necessaries, and cloath'd with the King's Authority, to make some profitable Plantation in *Florida*: thither they came, and settled in a place, where the *Spaniards* had been nestled more than once, but was now of a long time finally Abandon'd; partly for the ill will of the Natives, who could not endure the Pride and Cruelty of the *Spaniard*; but especially, because their great thirst after Gold and Silver was quite disappointed, for they could find no Mines there: Therefore the *French* concluded, they might justly take Possession of *Res vacula & derelicta*.

*Ribbald*, Leaving one *Albert* to be Governour, Sail'd again for *France*, assuring the new Colony, he would speedily return, with a new supply of Men and Victuals, having before his departure seen a fort erected for their defence: But he was scarce well gone, when through mischance the greatest part of it was burnt down to the ground, and a greater *Inflammation* happen'd amongst the Souldiers of the Garrison; for they combin'd against their Deputy Governour, and put him to Death, pretending he was too insolent and Cruel: and tho' they made choice of a moderate new Governour



vernour, yet longer they would not stay, because *Ribbald* had not return'd at the time appointed, and there Victuals were beginning to fail; yea so miserably were they pinch'd with want, while at Sea, that they did most inhumanely eat one of their own Number to keep in the Lives of the rest; and had not a good Providence brought an *English* Ship in their way, they would all have Starved: but thereby they were relieved and brought to *England*. No doubt the Judicious Reader will readily conclude, these Adventurers, at least the most of 'em, were destitute of the above mentioned qualifications, and I suppose the same judgment may be pass'd on the Recruit.

Admiral *Coligni*, not knowing of this Desertion, sent a new Recruit, *An.* 1564. under the command of *Renatus Laudonerius*, a protestant also; who found, by sad experience, this *new Colony* no less turbulent and Rebellious than was the Old: for a great number of them broke into his lodging when he was sick, and having put him in Irons, forc'd him to seal a Commission, to them to go and Cruise on the Coast of *Mexico*, under pretence that their Victuals were scarce; but being found robbing on the Coast of *Cuba*, the greatest part of 'em was surpriz'd by the Prefect of that Isle (who with great policy made his imprisoners Captives) the rest fled back to *Florida* for want of Victuals, whose Ringleaders *Laudonerius* most justly put to Death: But both Governour and Govern'd, even the whole Colony finding no Relief from *France*, resolv'd once again to abdicate that Plantation; but not having a sufficient Ship for that effect,

Sir



Sir *John Hawkins*, an *English* Man, coming oportunately among them with a little Fleet, most Humanely furnish'd them with a tight Ship and many other Necessaries; Yet being just about to Sail, *Ribbald* the first Governour came with a new supply, and perswaded the Old Colony to stay and Incorporate with the New. But it had been good for them all to have kept Company with the *English*; and no doubt, had they known what was coming upon them, they would have done so, and not left their Bones behind 'em, as the most of them were constrain'd to do.

The great *Thuan* ushers in this Catastrophe, with a just Invective against some Principal Men of the King's Council, who most Base-ly and Perfidiously, gave private Intelligence to the *Spanish* Admiral, of *Ribbald's* Expedition, and the time of his Sailing; so that he follow'd him to *Florida* with a much greater Fleet, and in few Days after his Landing, the *Spaniards* destroy'd the whole Colony, Man, Wife and Child, in number above 600, and *Ribbald* amongst the rest; tho' fair Quarter had been given him, and divers others, whom they Murder'd in cold Blood, and Ignominiously Hang'd on Trees growing about the Fort: There was indeed, one Villain among the *French*, a great Traitour to his Native Country, in shewing the Enemy the nearest way to the Fort; but the most of 'em could neither be branded with Treachery nor Cowardise; for they stood to it as long as they were able to stand, till they were over-power'd with Number and Force: So that the sickly old Governour hardly escap'd with his Life; but at last came safe  
Y to



to *France*, and gave the King a full Account of the Butchery of his Colony: But it seems, *Charles* the IXth was then begun to hatch the *Parisian* Massacre; for he little regarded the Massacring of his Subjects in *Florida*, the most part of them being Protestants: So that *France* lay under that Dishonour the space of three Years; for the *Floridan* Massacre was in 1565, and the unexpected Reparation was not till 1568.

Who could imagine, that a private Gentleman should be more sensible of the Honour of his Nation, than the King himself, who, if a *Generous* Prince, is the Fountain of Honour, within his own Dominions; but so it was, that one *Dominicus Gorgius*, born in *Aquitain*, was so touch'd, with the Dishonour done to his Nation by the *Spaniards*, that he Mortgag'd the greatest part of his Estate to furnish himself with Money, to Hire 200 Resolute Sons of *Mars* to go with him to *Florida*, to be aveng'd on the *Spaniards*: With these he Sail'd about the end of 1567, and having Associated himself with the Natives, who hated the *Spaniards* as much as he did, he successively destroy'd their three Forts, (for to that of *Carolina* the *French* had built, they had added other two) and left none alive that came within his reach; nay, caus'd Hang them on the same Trees, whereon they had Hang'd the *French*: And, as *Thuan* tells us, with this *Elogium*, That he Hang'd them not as *Spaniards*, but as *Traitours*, *Robbers* and *Murderers*: Because the *Spanish* Admiral had put this Inscription above the *French* Mens Heads, That they were not Hang'd as *French Men*, but as *Lutherans*: There is another remarkable



remarkable Particular *Laudonerius* takes notice of, which *Thuan* overpasse, That when one of the *Spaniards* was about to be ty'd up, he acknowledg'd solemnly the Righteous Judgments of God, *Because*, said he, *I Hang'd with mine own Hands five French Men on this same Tree.* *Dominicus Gorgius* return'd home with great Triumph, and rode Post to Court, to shew the King, how he had aveng'd his Nation on the *Spaniards*; but that Perfidious and Cruel Prince, was so far from giving him a due Reward, that he frown'd upon him, and told him, *He deserv'd to be severely Punish'd for making such Attempts without his Order*; so that he was fain to lurk among his Friends, till that *Massacring Prince* went to his own place.

This long Discourse about Plantations had almost supplanted out of my Memory the 3d and Last Particular, of this EVIDENCE of Prudence in a Prince, viz. *His being shy to impose unnecessary Burdens upon his People.* The Prophet *Daniel* fore-told, That one of the *Seleucidae*, should be a *Raiser of Taxes*, and therefore so hated by the Populace that he should be taken away by Treason: And that this is a most invidious Character in the Eyes of the People, may appear from the Epithets the old *Persians* gave to their three Absolute Monarchs: first in order of Time, the Grand *Cyrus*, they term'd a *Father*, because he did not burden his Subjects with Taxes; to his Son *Cambyfes*, tho' Tyrant enough, they gave the Title of King; but usually term'd *Darius Hystaspes*, a *Merchant*; because of the great Impositions he laid upon his People. It was certainly a witty Repartee of the Ambassadour of

Y 2

the



the Lesser *Asia* to *Mark Antony*, whose Prodigious Luxury and that of *Cleopatra*, was such, that he told the Ambassadour, *He must double their former Taxes: If you do, reply'd the Ambassadour; you must give us two Summers, two Harvests, and two Crops in one Year; for we find it burden enough to pay the former Impositions.*

*Pliny*, in his notable *Panegyrick* on the Emperour *Trajan*, bespoke him thus, *Fisci mala causa nunquam est, nisi sub bono Principe.* The *Greeks* therefore observ'd, It was Avarice that made the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, fore-tell the Downfal of the Commonwealth of *Sparta*. Nay, tho' *Tacitus* makes *Vespasian* the Reverse of the Emperour *Galba*, by telling us, *That he alone was much bettered in his Morals by his Exaltation; yet he also observes, That the Romans were not so much disgusted with the Sordidness of Vespasian in Sessing of Urine, as in continuing the Taxes after the War was ended; because the Necessity of War differs much from the time of Peace.* Other Roman Historians tell us, *That Sertorius gain'd the Affections of the Spaniards by moderating their Taxes; as did Scipio, by restoring them the Goods found in New Carthage, when he Surpriz'd it: On the other Hand, the Nobles of Castile took Arms against Alphonsus the III'd, as is testify'd by Mariana, for infringing their Priviledges, and obliging them to Pay more Taxes, than they had done formerly: And in the Memory of Man, that terrible Insurrection at Naples, under the Conduct of Massianello, a poor Fisherman, had its Rise from some new Gabells Impos'd by the Vice-Roy on that Kingdom.*

But



But we need not go out of *Britain* for Instances of this Nature; for the small Sum of *Four-pence English*, impos'd by way of *Pole*, occasion'd almost a general Insurrection in the Days of *Richard* the II<sup>d</sup> of *England*; nay, the extortioning the Subjects by his Supposts, and the iniquity of their Exactions, was the great Crime, laid to his Charge, when that unhappy Prince was *Abdicated* by his Parliament: And that such Burdens are very grievous to the Mob, was observ'd in the time of a much Wiser Prince, *viz.* King *Henry* the VII<sup>th</sup>; for the People of *England*, especially the Inhabitants of *Cornwal*, for a small Imposition, upon the account of the *Scots* Depredations, made a very great Commotion in *England*: 'Tis therefore no wonder to find the *Scots*, *kicking against such Pricks*, for 'tis little more than half an Age, that they became such *Beasts of Burden*; even in time of War, they being only oblig'd to serve their Prince, upon their own Charges, for the space of 40 Days, and when that Time was expir'd, they usually made their own Dyet; which I confess, was a fitter method for sudden *Depredations*, than any solid Conquest: So that 'twas no wonder, that *Mary* of *Lorrain*, when Queen Regent, adventuring to impose an Annual Taxation on the Kingdom, to pay her *Frenchmen*, so long as there was need of any Foreign Force, was murmur'd against by the most part, who resolv'd *vim vi repellere*: I say, 'tis no matter of admiration, to find them boggle so at the Burden impos'd by a *Stranger*, and for the *behoof of Strangers*, when they grudg'd a more reasonable Tax, for the *Redemption* of their Native Prince King *James* the I<sup>st</sup>, and after-



wards to contribute for the Dowry of his Daughter, who was honourably Marry'd to *Lewis* the XIth of *France*; so that the King being weary'd with their Clamours, remitted the greatest part of both, tho' Impos'd by Law.

The mention of King *James* the Ist's Captivity, so long and so unjustly detain'd in *England*, affords occasion for a notable Observation concerning publick Taxes, That nothing is more endearing to some People, than when a Prince secures them from the fate of *Issachar's Ass*; nay, Usurping Tyrants have thus highly Ingratiated themselves with the Mob; for *Henry* the IId, of *Castile* by his Liberality to the People, in lieu of Burdening them, wip'd out of their Minds the Memory of his Murdering, with his own Hand, his Legitimate Brother *Peter*, as also his own Usurpation and Bastardise: And the same hath been observ'd of divers other Tyrants by Usurpation. But the *Scots* History affords the most pregnant Instance of them all: *Robert*, Duke of *Albany*, with his Son *Murdo*, grasp'd the *Scottish* Scepter, under the notion of *Regents*, the space of 18 Years, their Lawful King being Prisoner in *England* all that time, and for ought I can find in their *Records*, none of his Subjects made any publick Motion for his Release; nay, in all probability he would have lain other 18 Years, if not all his Life, in *firman*ce; if the Unnatural and Barbarous Infidelity of Duke *Murdo's* Eldest Son, in pulling the Head from a Faulcon on his Father's Hand, had not made the Insignificant Father Swear, *He would speedily bring home one, who would not fail to take a severe Course with them both.*

If



If it be demanded, How a Man that could not exercise Authority over his own Children, and an Usurper too, could Rule a Nation so long in Peace? The best Answer I can give, is, That neither Father nor Son ever Exacted one Farthing of Sels from the People, and Coniv'd at the most stirring Spirits of the Nobility, in tasting deeply of the King's Revenue.

I shall only add one Particular, That tho' some of the Mob are found so unreasonable as to repine at the very *Sinews of War*, taken out of their Purses, tho' for *Self-Defence*; yet all Sober People are unwilling to have their Blood suck'd by a *Lamia*, I mean, when under pretence of Publick Service, 'tis found in the end, that large proportions of Money have been exacted from them, to be *Fewel* to Luxury, and *Wages* to Whores: Which the Divine *Corban* would never admit. Too many Examples of this Nature could be adduced; I shall only give one, Recorded by *Plutarch* in the Life of King *Demetrius*, whom he hath very pertinently parallel'd with *Mark Antony*, being the most Voluptuous Persons in their respective Ages: The base Parasitical State of *Athens* made that vile Law, *That People should account all Religions to the Gods and Just unto Men, it pleas'd Demetrius to appoint*: This was scarce well Enacted, when that Luxurious Prince Profan'd all the Holy Mysteries of their Fraternity, as they were term'd, and also,

*Of Chast Minerva's holy Church, he made a  
filthy Stews;  
And in that Virgin's very sight, his Harlots  
did abuse:*

Y 4

But



But yet of all the Insolent Parts, at that time Acted in *Athens* by their new Carnal Deity, none griev'd the *Athenians* so much, as that Imposition he Commanded of 250 Talents, a great Sum in those Days, yet more for the Designation of it, than for the thing it self: the Taxation was very hard upon them, both for shortness of Time, and the impossibility of abating any part of it; but the Event confounded them with Grief and Shame, for when that great mass of Money was laid in an Heap before him, he instantly Commanded, it should be given to *Lamia*, his most belov'd Courtesan, and some others of her *Kidney*, only to buy them Soap; so that the Shame the *Athenians* receiv'd by that Gift, griev'd them more than the loss of their Money: Therefore *Democharis* the Poet, call'd *Demetrius* a Fable, because he had *Lamia* ever with him: alluding to the Fables which old Women tell little Children, Where there is ever lightly a *Lamia*, a Witch or Sorceress: The Ambassadors of *Demetrius* to *Lysimachus*, had the same Allusion, when that great King shew'd them the Marks of the Wounds made on his Legs and Arms, when King *Alexander* in his Fury caus'd him Fight with a Lion; they smiling told him, The King, their Master, had also certain Marks and Bitings on his Neck, of a certain wild Beast, call'd *Lamia*. The fittest Epiphonema of this Prudential Rule, is the Observation of some Statesmen, That he is the best Prince, who makes the conclusion of the Roman 12 Tables, the Prologue and Epilogue of his Reign, viz. *Salus populi Suprema Lex esto*.



The XXth EVIDENCE of Prudence in a Generous Prince, is to study to be a Knowing Person. *Bene cum illo Regno agi* (said Plato) *ubi Philosophi regnant, aut Reges Philosophantur*; which, as it was justly apply'd by Hecſtor Boyes, to King James the 1st. of Scotland; so it may be said of all great Spirits, That they are either Learned, or Lovers of Learning, and the Company of Learned Men; this being the path-way of conveying Knowledge to themselves, and an infallible Evidence of their being endu'd, in some measure, with that great Intellectual Perfection: For *ignoti nulla Cupido*. Nothing procures to a Sovereign Prince, more intimate Respect and Dread from the most of his People, than their being perswaded that he is a Man of extraordinary Wisdom and Knowledge; thus Proteus's Various shapes, and Giges's Ring, which render'd him invisible, and their Original: the Plebeians of Musco are, for the most part, grossly Ignorant, nor did I ever Read, that any of their Czars was greatly Learn'd; yet because the Common People think so, it is one of their Motives to adore him as a Demi-God: so that when they are puzl'd with any Mysterious question, they usually answer, *God and the Duke knows that best*: nay, 'tis observed, that if any Plebeian acquire more Knowledge than those of his rank, he is reverenc'd by the Mob, as a certain Oracle.

Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar, tho' most Ambitious Spirits, were both Learned, and such Valuers of Learning, that Alexander usually said, *he had rather Excell in Knowledge than in Power*; and was greatly offended when his Master Aristotle made his *Acroamaticks publici*



*ci juris*, designing to monopolize them to himself: It was upon the account of knowledge that he frequently protested, *he was more obliged to his School-masters than to his Parents, having from the latter, only his being; but from the former, his well being:* and how much he Honour'd and esteemed *Homer's Works* needs not be told, nay, 'tis like, in imitation of *Alcibiades*, he would have bastinado'd a School-master if he had found him wanting that *Learned Treasure*, Nor should it be forgot, that when he was born, his Father solemnly blessed the Gods, for that the *Learned Aristotle*, was then Living, to become a Tutor to his Son. As for *Julius Caesar*, his own Works praise him in the Gates; for by some Criticks, he is esteem'd one of the best Historians that ever wrote: the *Julian Year*, whereby he rectified the pitifully confus'd *Roman Calendar*, shews he was no Stranger to the Noble *Mathematicks*: And as vain as *Cicero* was of his great Talent of *Oratory*, yet he ingenuously confess'd, that *Caesar was his great Rival in Eloquence*: and who hath not heard of his, *Major cura librorum quam Purpure*, in the Haven of *Alexandria*. Nay, it may be said, his good fortune contributed to the glory of the *Muses*; for in his 3d Triumph over *Africk*, young *Juba*, then a Boy, was led Captive; which fell out happily for him, for by his Studies, when Prisoner, from being a Barbarous *Numidian*, he became one of the wisest *Historiographers* of all the *Grecians*.

*Augustus*, also was learned, and a great encourager of *Learned Men*; as is evident from the great abundance of knowing Persons, in



in all the Liberal Arts, his long and peaceable Reign was blessed with, beyond former ages: for *honus alit Artes*, and Peace is the great Nurse of the Muses, whereas, *inter armorum strepitus silent Leges, filet Minerva*. Nay his great favourites *Mecenas* and *Agrippa* were exact imitators of their great Master, which occasion'd the Poet to say,

*Sint Mecanates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones.*

As *Augustus*, was always attended with Philosophers and Learned Men, so were diverse other Emperours, as *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and *Alexander Severus*, especially *Marcus Aurelius*, furnam'd the Philosopher, not only for his delight in the company of such, but also because he was a good and learned Prince, who by his Natural and acquired parts, excell'd all the Pagan Princes that ever liv'd. And who could imagine, that *Tiberius* and *Nero*, (the one a close and the other an open Tyrant) would travell no where, in the beginning of their Reigns, without some Learned Men in their Company; and 'tis observable, that as soon as they deserted their Company, they turn'd their Backs upon all vertue.

It is also a very considerable Remark, that some Princes who never Read much, yet by keeping Learned Men in their Company, have become very knowing Persons; 'tis indeed recorded of *Alphonso* of *Arragon* and *Naples*, that in his private devotions he perused the whole H. Scripture 14 several times, with *Lyra's* Annotations thereon; but it was his frequent conferring with learned Men in all Sciences



ences, that procur'd him the repute of a *Learned Prince*; for always after Dinner he retir'd with them, and told 'em, *He must feed his Mind as he had done his Body*: and thus as *Plato* alternately wished, that Kings should either be Learn'd or at least Lovers of Learning and of Learned Men; *Alphonso*, saith *Æneas Sylvius*, conjoyned both. *De Serres* and *Mezery* testify concerning *Francis* the I. of *France*, that tho' he was not educated with Learning, nor much given to his Book, yet by his Conversation with Learned Men, he became a very knowing Prince. The same is reported by *Thuan* of the famous *Cardinal Turnon*, that being a States-Man, and having little or no time to Study, yet by keeping Learned Men of all sorts still about him, he acquired considerable insight in all kinds of laudable knowledge.

We must not defraud K. *James* the I. of *Great Britain*, of his due commendation, for having his Table usually surrounded with Learned Men, among whom was the famous Arch-bishop of *Spalato*, and discoursing with them upon intricate subjects, his time was better imploy'd, than in hearing *Buffoons*, whether Natural or Artificial *Fools*; the most part of such, like forraign Ambassadors, being nothing else than a kind of *Publick Spyes* in Courts, and great Corrupters of manners; and therefore *Augustus Cesar*, and *Alexander Severus*, could never indure them: If they are good for any thing, 'tis for telling the truth to great ones by way of jest, which, to them becomes a Scene equivalent to a Comedian's Stage. And if it be objected, that many of these Artificial Pleasants know too well  
how



how to tickle the Eares of some Princes with flattery, on which account, none was more acceptable to *Alexander the Great*, after he became a great Minion of *Bacchus*, than that kind of *Cattel*. I shall once for all, give my opinion of these *pests of Courts*, I mean *Parasites*, whom the Philosopher justly term'd the worst of *tame Beasts*, That if ever they are good for any thing, 'tis when Providence makes them meet with good Natures, by extolling Men, even Sovereign Princes, if they hear them and believe them, they tell them (by a *Laudando precipimus*) what they really ought to be.

Let us now take some notice of such Princes who were neither Learn'd, nor lovers of Learning or Learn'd Men: *Fools hate knowledge*, saith Infinite Wisdom, the *causa deficiens* being found in that Old Maxim, *Nemo vituperat Artem nisi qui non novit artem*: thus all *Barbarians*, whether Kings or Subjects, are usually *haters of the Muses* and all their followers: did not the brutish *Scythians* put the famous Philosopher *Anacharsis* to Death, tho' of their Blood Royal, because he return'd from *Greece*, with that Honourable Character? no doubt, another *Scythian* Prince pleas'd them better, who preferr'd the Neighing of his Horse to the ravishing Musick of *Ismenius*. Such likewise were the Brutish inclinations of the *Roman* Emperour *Licinius*, who exclaim'd against the *Sciences*, as a publick plague, and all Philosophers and Orators, as poyson to a *Common-wealth*; I confess, he never gave this under his Hand, for he could neither Read nor Write: and such was the unhappy Education of *Justin*, the  
III



1st Emperour of that Name, a poor *Thracian* Boy, who by following the War, ascended to that Honour: Which great Blemish divers Romanists, either ignorantly, or rather maliciously, have apply'd to his Nephew, *Justinian the Great*, because he Ruled the *Roman* Clergy with an high Hand, as they alledged, in regard of the severe Laws made concerning the Church; which are to be found in the *Digest* and *Code*, but especially in his *Novels*.

That the *Goths*, who broke in, like a Flood, upon *Italy*, were a *Scythian* Spawn, is the Opinion of many; but 'tis certain, that one, accounted the Wisest among 'em, gave a sufficient Evidence of their Barbarity, when he advis'd, *not to destroy the Libraries they found there, because, said that Apollo, these Books serve to emasculate the Spirits of the Inhabitants, and to Effeminate the Nation; that so they may be the more easily subdu'd*: Whereas, *Alphonsus* of *Naples* had a nobler Sentiment of those *Viands* of *Minerva*; who, being demanded, *Whether he was more oblig'd to Arms or Letters?* Answer'd, *That by Letters he was taught Arms, and the right of Arms*; all Rich Men, without Letters, he justly call'd, *golden Fleeces*: And hearing, that one of the Kings of *Castile* had said, *It was Indecent for a Prince or Nobleman to be Learn'd*; he answer'd, *It was not the Voice of a Man, but of an Ox*; and protested, *he would choose rather to lose all his Kingdoms, than be so ignorant of Letters, as some Kings were*. But it seems the *Goths*, for at least one Age, were of the Opinion of their lately mention'd Oracle, and consequently barbarous enough, for they found



found fault with *Athalricus's* Mother for causing instruct her Young Son in good Letters, as if he had been thereby render'd incapable of publick business: It seems *Lewis the XI.* of *France*, would have pleased them well, who order'd the Tutors of his Son to teach him no more *Latin*, but these few Words, *qui nescit dissimulare nescit Regnare*. But who knows not, that *Charles the VIIIth* was so far from learning the Politicks of his Father's Court, that it was observed, his ignorance made him very unfit to Govern: but if this simple Prince had followed the foot-steps of one of his Predecessors and Name sake, *Charles the Great*, he would have been found a great Scholar and a great Warriour. I come in the last place to that kind of Wisdom which sanctifies Knowledge in all, and that is true Religion.

The Last EVIDENCE of Prudence in a *Generous Prince*, which I shall mention, is to be a *Professor and Practiser of true Religion*. This ought to be the *Alpha and Omega* of every Government. A *Jove Principium* was the usual Language of all Civiliz'd Pagans. And *Cicero* imputes the great prosperity of the *Roman Empire* meerly to their zeal for Religion, so he calls their Superstition; yet justly deriving the Word a *Religando*, from its tying their Souls to God; he Enumerates diverse Nations who excell'd the *Romans* in multitudes of Men, in strength of Body, in largeness of Dominions, in Wealth, &c. but gives the *Romans* the preference to all, and the Subjugation of all, only for their great Religion: Yet 'tis most certain, greater Superstition never Reign'd in any Nation, than among the  
Old



Old *Greeks* and *Romans*, tho' at that time accounted the most Civiliz'd Nations upon Earth; for their *Aruspicia* and *Auguria* did frustrate many great Designs; especially their Astrologers foolish Prognosticks from the Courses of the Planets, through the 12 Signs of the *Zodiac*; and above all, their frightful Interpretations of the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, were found very pernicious to those States; for the mad Superstition of *Nicias* the *Athenian* General in *Sicily*, in reference to that Eclipse of the Moon, ruin'd the greatest Army the State of *Athens* ever sent Abroad any where; for *Nicias* exceeded the most ignorant of all the *Greeks* in his Superstition concerning Ecclipses, for both in that of Sun and Moon, they kept close only three Days at most, and waited not the whole Revolution of the Course of the Moon, as *Nicias* most foolishly did.

Yet the most Solid of both Nations privately derided those Follies, (tho' *Socrates* and *Alcibiades* smarted for it, having done it publickly) of which many Instances might be given; I shall only take notice of the Witty Answer, *Cassius* gave to a Sooth-sayer, who came to him when he was bringing off a Party of Horse, which had been a part of the Army of their unhappy Consul *Marcus Crassus*, advising him, *not to proceed further till the Moon went out of the Sign of Scorpio*: *Tush*, said he, *I fear that of Sagittarius much more*; alluding by that Imaginary Sign in Heaven to the real *Parthian* Darts upon Earth, and so brought off his Squadron of Horse without Danger. *Plutarch*, from such vain Predictions, rightly infers, That *Superstition is the excessive*



*excessive fear of the Gods*, which comes nigher to that Etymology of the Word given by Christians, that it is, *supra Statutum*; than the *Ætiology* of Cicero, *Qui toto die orabant ut filii eorum Superstitēs essent*: For as Profaneness makes the Zone of Religion too lax and wide; so Superstition, or Will-worship renders the Girdle of True Religion too strait and pinching: Nay, there is a *Supersætation* in it, which few have observ'd; for many become Superstitious in avoiding Superstition; they being no less chargeable with Superstition, who imagine things *Adiaphorons* to be sinful, as they, who judge things Indifferent in their own nature, to be always necessary Duties.

Now if those Princes, who were strangers to True Religion, did readily apprehend, the Blessings of Heaven would be rain'd down upon their Persons and Government, for their Sincerity in what they Profess'd, and Zeal to Propagate the same among their Subjects; how much rather have they Reason so to conclude, who are bless'd with that *True Divine Revelation*, which hath not only made them nominal Christians, but also *most Christian indeed*: For such are far from entertaining that Maxim of *Machiavel*, *That the Substance of our Religion is hurtful, tho' the Shaddow of it is profitable*; in which last Clause, he joins Issue with many Speculative Atheists, who think all Religion nothing else, but *Priest-Craft* and *State-Policy* to keep People in Awe, by the Terrors of an Invisible World, and Wheedle them into a Reverence and Obedience of Laws, by pretending a Divine Impression on the Authority of the Law giver;

Z                      according



according to that of the Poet :

—*Quoties vis fallere plebem,  
Finge Deum :*

Neither can it be deny'd, That the most Ancient Law-givers among the Heathen, made their Laws the more *passable* among the People, by pretending to such a Divine Original ; and, I believe, in the most of those Legislators, it was nothing but a meer Pretence, that by such a *Sovereign Cordial*, the *bitterest Pills* they exhibited to the People, might be the more easily receiv'd and digested.

Thus *Minos* pretended, he receiv'd the Laws he gave to the *Cretians*, from his Father *Jupiter* ; *Solon*, his Laws to the *Athenians*, from *Minerva* ; *Lycurgus*, the *Lacedæmonian* Legislator, pretended he was Inspir'd by *Apollo* ; and *Numa Pompilius*, that he had the Laws he gave to the *Romans*, from the Goddess *Ægeria*, with that great Mass of Superstitious Rites, he prescrib'd to them : For the most part of those Prescriptions to those respective People, may be term'd their *corpus juris Civilis & Canonici*, or the Complex both of their Law and Religion. The Grand Impostor *Mahomet*, was not wanting in this piece of Policy ; for he Taught a *white Dove* to pick Grains of Corn out of his Ears, and made the Ignorant Mob believe, it was the *Holy Ghost* that reveal'd to him the Hellish Doctrines of his *Alcoran*, which is a *Farrago* both of the Laws and Superstitions of the *Mahometans*. Nor must we forget the Policy of *Sertorius*, who made the *Spaniards* believe, a *white Hind* he had tam'd, had a Divine Commission to reveal to him all the Affairs of the Country :  
like



like to some Schoolmasters, who feign, they have a little Book, which tells them their Schollars Faults. I shall only add, That *Scipio Africanus*, long before he obtain'd that Epithet, was esteem'd by the *Roman* Citizens as a Divine Person, and a great Favourite of the Gods; because, every Day, as soon as he got out of Bed, he resorted to *Jupiter's* Temple in the Capitol, and there was thought to converse with their greatest God, a great part of the Day: I say, as soon as he got out of Bed, it being the greatest Fault his Enemies laid to his Charge, That he lov'd a Morning Sleep too well; for all *Tacitus's* innuendo that *Posteriora cedebant prioribus*.

I have already mention'd the two Extreames of true Religion, Profaneness on the one Hand, and Superstition on the other; the former is more pernicious to the Church than the latter; especially in Sovereign Princes, whose Vicious Scandalous Example is more deleterious than Poyson to many of his Subjects; most of Men, being more ready to Live by Patterns than Precepts, and apter to follow bad Example than good; especially in their Kings; for then the Subject thinks, he sins *Cum Privilegio*, according to that of the Poet,

*Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis:*

But when they are Authoriz'd by what is call'd a Law, they think it their Duty to obey; tho' if we believe the Apostles of our Saviour, and follow their Example, *we are bound to Obey God rather than Men*: And it is very observable, That all well-meaning Subjects in matters of Religion, have a great De-



ference for those Princes, whom they judge truly Religious; but have not the least internal Respect for those, who are known to be Profane and Wicked; of which we have sufficient Evidence in Holy Scripture, in what we read of two of the Kings of *Juda*: *Foram* was so prodigiously Wicked, that when he dy'd, it is said of him, *That he dyed undesir'd*, that is, no sober Subject desir'd he should live one Minute longer; and no doubt, they were glad to be rid of such a Monster: But as for that good and zealous Prince *Josiah*, when he dy'd, there was never greater Lamentation made for any Man, as appears from the Lamentations of *Jermiah*.

Yea, more than so, altho' a Prince incline a little towards Superstition, and Authorize the same, he is more acceptable to all Religious Subjects, than he, who establisheth Profaness, or any thing like to it, by a Law. For this, *Britain* affords a very old, and a very late Evidence: for a *Scottish* King, not long after the Plantation of Christianity in that Kingdom, was so Zealous for the due Observation of the Lord's Day, as the most constant Christian Festival, That he Order'd all his People to abstain from bodily Labour, 'twixt *Saturday* at Noon till *Munday* Morning, under a very severe Penalty: Tho' this Constitution look'd like the Retrival of the Judaical Sabbath; yet the *Fervour novitius* being upon his Subjects, they magnify'd their Prince as a very Religious Person. But the Proclamation appointed by King *James* the Ist. to be publish'd in all the Churches of *England* concerning *Sports on the Lord's Day*, was pitifully constru'd as having a tincture of Profane.



Profaneness in it, or at least a tendency to Popery, (tho' the contrary was pretended) because the most part of that sort in *Britain* are observ'd to be Profaners of the Lord's Day: And I must needs say, That such Ecclesiasticks as advis'd *the Son* to renew that invidious Proclamation, consulted neither Piety nor Prudence in the matter, considering what a Ferment was in the two Nations before that time of Day; they being made believe by too many *Boute-feues*, That the grand Design of those two Princes was to bring home the Pope again; tho' I am fully persuaded, neither *Father* nor *Son*, (whatever may be said of some of their Posterity) had ever the least Inclination that way.

There is another Branch of Profaneness, which usually brings down visible Judgments both on Prince and People, as being the highest degree of visible Impiety, and that is *Sacrilege*, when wittingly and deliberately Committed: It is a great Act of Injustice to oppress a Neighbour in his Person or Goods; but to *rob our God*, hath a great tincture both of Practical and Speculative Atheism in it; and 'tis very observable, That the first Instances of *Sacrilege*, we find both in the Old and New Testament, were signally Punish'd; for the whole Family of *Achan*, was destroy'd for sinning in the *accursed thing*; and so were *Ananias* and *Saphira* Anathematiz'd under the Gospel: In the Primitive Canons, *Anathema danti & anathema accipienti*, are many times denounc'd against those, who make *Simoniacal* Transactions; and divers of the Ancients have apply'd the same *Curses* to those, who are guilty of *Sacrilege*. And 'tis no wonder, that this is done by Christians,

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when



when divers *Pagan* Moralists knew no less by the Light of Nature; for 'tis of Sacrilegious Families, they interpret the old Observation of an Eagle, *That snatching a Collop from God's Altar, to feed her young ones, a fatal Coal stuck to it, which burn'd up Nest and all.*

The Author of the Book of *Maccabees*, and *Josephus* the *Jewish* Historian, give an account of terrible Plagues which befel some of the *Syrian* Princes, with their Delegates, for robbing the Temple of *Jerusalem*; and who hath not heard of the Fate of *Marcus Crassus*, who had melted Gold pour'd down his Throat by the *Parthians*, with this bitter *Sarcasm*, *Gold thou desiredst, glut thy self with it*: which is justly imputed to his Robbing the House of the True and Living God, of two Thousand Talents of Gold, when he Commenc'd that unhappy Expedition against the *Persians*. But many are apt to admire, wherefore the Infinite Wisdom was pleas'd to permit the Devil to inflict palpable Judgments on the Robbers of *Pagan* Temples; But the reason is evident, Because it was Sacrilege as to them; for these Heathen Robbers believ'd that their Gods dwelt in them, therefore the Creator of the World would give a Demonstration how much he abhorr'd the Alienation of any thing to a profane Use, which was once destin'd to a Pious, altho' the Dedicator was mistaken in the Object of his Worship.

But whosoever is Curious to see Examples to this purpose, may find abundance in the *Greek* and *Roman* Histories: the *Greeks* recount at length, the great Fatalities which (at last) befell the *Phocians*, for robbing their Fa-  
mous



mous Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*; for the Quarrel of their God being espous'd by the rest of the *Greeks*, it was call'd the *Sacred War*, and *Philip* of *Macedon* was call'd in to be Head of it, of which, he was very glad; for he thereby took occasion to thrust in both *Head and Shoulders* upon all *Greece*. In those Authors we may also find, what great Disasters befel *Xerxes* with his *Persians*, and *Brennus* with his *Gauls*, for their design'd Depredations on that Famous Oracle; for it was terrible to see great Rocks tumbling down from the famous *Parnassus*, and dashing out the Brains of those Robbers. Nay, *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* relate a strange Story, antierour to any of the former; How, that 50000 of *Cambyfes's* Army were overwhelm'd with the *Lybian Sands*, because they went on design to rob the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon* in *Marmorica*. But the most Epidemical Plague, that ever befel Sacrilegious Persons, is reported by the *Roman* Historians, who have notic'd the Sacriledge committed by the Consul *Cepio* and his Army, when they robb'd the Rich Temple of *Tholouse* in *Languedoc*; it was observ'd of all, who did so, That they came to miserable Ends; and thus it far'd with that great Army, for very few of 'em could plead *not Guilty*: so that it became Proverbial at *Rome*, when they saw any miserable Creature, *Aurum habet Tholosanum*.

It may please God in his Infinite Wisdom, for Reasons best known to himself, to reprieve some Sacrilegious Persons during their own time; yet the wofull effects of that Crime fall heavily upon their Posterity, which natu-



rally are a part of themselves; we being assur'd in Holy Scripture, *That God visits the Iniquities of the fathers upon the Children, to the third and fourth Generation of those who hate him*; for some wicked Men live to see their fourth Generation: yet that old Maxim, *de male quaesitis vix gaudet tertius Haeres*, is observed to be mostly verify'd of Sacrilegious Parents; and that other also, *Non remittitur peccatum, si non restituatur ablatum*: For this answers the Objection concerning *Dionysius* the elder of *Sicily*, who liv'd long and dy'd in his Bed, as few Tyrants do, yet was the most Insolent Church-Robber, or Sacrilegious Prince that ever liv'd; for he made sport of all those impious Robberies, as appears from his taking the golden Cloak from the Statue of *Jupiter*, and the golden Beard from *Æsculapius*, and from his saying in derision, *O how the Gods favour Sacrilege*, when he had a good gale of *Wind* to drive him home, after he had robb'd the Temple of *Proserpina* in *Italy*; yet Divine Justice overtook his immediate Son, who was not only bereaved of all that ill gotten Gold, but also of a rich and powerful Kingdom, and was glad to become a poor despicable Schoolmaster at *Corinth*.

It is the Opinion of many, that *Henry* the VIIIth, of *England*, was the most Sacrilegious Prince in his Age, and therefore 'tis observ'd, that tho' he had three Children come to sufficient age, yet the World never saw a Grand-child of his: I know, it is said for him, by way of Apology, that these Religious Houses were far degenerated from their private Institution, and so much wickedness was found practis'd in them, that some compar'd



par'd them to Stews or Brothel-houses ; and the most moderate Censurers confidently al-leadg'd, that *Velut porci in baris saginantur* : but suppose all these Obloquies had been true, which in Charity cannot be thought, yet pray who gave Authority to any Man to alienate to profane uses, what was one destined to a Religious Imployment ? sure I am, better Improvements of these Sacred Revenues could have been devised, than to squander them away among debauched Courtiers ; nay, to cast some of 'em into the Lap of Persons, of whom he never heard before ; a better expedient might have been found out to drive away those ominous Crows, than the *pulling down their Nests* ; for very temperate and devout Persons of both Sexes might have been nestled respectively in them, and liv'd there, in conformity to the Laws of God and the Land, and the Standard of the Reformed Religion : for which many pregnant Reasons might be given, if I could insist. I only add to this particular, that King *Charles* the 1st. deserves highly to be commended for his Piety, who in his greatest straits, would never consent to the alienation of *the Patrimony of the Church* : He had also a Loyal Servant, who, pursuant to the good disposition of his *Royal Master*, upon that fatal Theatre gave a solemn Charge to his Son, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church, as he would be answerable to his Father in Heaven.

The other extream of Religion is *Superstition* ; the definition or description of it, is given already ; I shall now only shew, how Criminal and Fatal it is for Princes to be involv'd in it. I begin with Pagans, whose consulting



consulting with Heathen Oracles, may be truly termed Idolatry ; yet since they who believed them to be Gods, thought their demanding Responses, according to the Ceremonies prescribed by those respective Oracles, was an eminent Act of Religion ; I shall let these Responses pass under the notion of Superstition : yet with this *Stigma*, that for their adoring of the Devil, as a Deity ; the True and Living God not only gave them up to strong delusions to believe lies, but also suffered the Devils to trepan and abuse them with such ambiguous Responses, that tho' the Consultants too readily interpreted them to their own advantage, yet they usually ended in their utter ruine: It is an Old Proverb, *we should not belie the Devil*, and tho' he is *Cheat enough*, yet I am much of Opinion, that his design, in those Amphibologies, was not always to deceive, but to preserve his own reputation, whatever the event was ; for 'tis certain, the Devil makes only probable conjectures of future Contingencies, so that not knowing them infallibly, when any of his Oracles was consulted about such events, as a *salvo* to his own credit, he was in a manner necessitated to involve his Responses in ambiguous Terms.

*Cræsus* King of *Lydia* was the most bountiful Client the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi* ever had ; yet when he consulted about his going against his grand Nephew *Cyrus* ; 'tis well known how he was cheated by that Response,

*Cræsus Halym penetrans magnam subvertet  
opum vim.*

such



such another answer was given to *Pyrrhus*,

*Aio te, Æacide, Romanos vincere posse.*

to another *Hot-spurr*, like to that *Epirot*,  
was given a no less deluding Response,

*Ibis redibis nunquam per bella peribis.*

which according to the various punctuation,  
makes the Consulter happy or miserable. I  
find in the English History, an exact parallel  
to this, a Response given, not by a Pagan Ora-  
cle, but a *Clergy-man*; yet I am confident, a  
more ambiguous was never given by any of  
the Heathen Oracles in any part of the World:  
when they who had that silly Prince *Edward*  
the 11d. in their Power, demanded of the Bi-  
shop of *Hereford*, whether they should put  
him to death or not? that *subtle Ecclesiastick*  
thus answer'd,

*Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est,*

which, pointed one way, is both good Mora-  
lity and Divinity; but pointed another way,  
is most hellish Doctrine: yet with this, those  
Sons of *Belial* did too readily comply.

To this Class of Superstition, many Dreams  
may be pertinently reduced. That there have  
been *Somnia Theopempta*, or Dreams sent  
from God, cannot be deny'd, by any who be-  
lieve Holy Scripture; and not only to true  
Believers, but also to some Infidels, such as,  
*Pharaob*, in the time of *Joseph*; and *Nebu-  
chadnezzar*, in the days of *Daniel*: but that  
many Dreams are not only Superstitious, but  
also



also Diabolical, is a most certain Truth: so that it is the concern of all Princes, that the Devil do not so trepan them in their sleep, as to make them practise their delusive Imaginations, when awake; tho' directly contrary to Justice and Charity, Prudence and Mercy. I find two very remarkable Dreams of this nature recorded by the Antients: the first was, of one *Sabacus* an old *Ægyptian* King, to whom his principal God appear'd in his sleep, and ordered him to destroy all the Priests in *Egypt*; who, almost since the Creation, were very numerous there, assuring him that till he obey'd this Order, he should find neither Security in his Throne, nor rest at Night, so long as he was King: this nocturnal Vision being reiterated diverse Nights, the King at last assembled the People, and declar'd, *how he was molested in his sleep*; but being a good and just Prince, he told them, *That rather than put so many innocent Persons to death, he would choose to abandon his Throne*; and immediately did so: which minds me of that high flown Expression of *Lucan*, *Vidrix causa Diis placuit, sed vidta Catoni*. The other dream, was that of *Xerxes*, neither so Just nor so Wise as that other Prince; for it was a Diabolical Vision that made him prosecute his foolish design against the *Greeks*, and which also induc'd his Uncle *Artabanus* to consent to it: but how many Myriads of Men he lost by it, and how ignominiously he fled, is well enough known to the Learned World.

We ought not to reckon all Predictions of future events or bygone Secrets, which cannot be known by natural Means, among super-



perstitious Arts; even after the gift of Prophecy may be said to have ceased in the Church: for, if we believe *Eusebius*, *Constantine the Great* had particular Revelations from God, concerning the treacherous Conspiracies of his own Father and Brother in Law. And 'tis very remarkable in the *English History*, that *Henry the VIth* said of the Young Earl of *Richmond*, even during the greatest combustions betwixt *York* and *Lancaster*, *That he was the Boy who would put an end to all their Troubles*; altho at that time his Title was very remote from the *English Crown*: but *Henry* was a devout Soul, and this he might have had by Divine Revelation. And so might that good Young Prince *Edward the VIth*, who told the Physicians of his Old Tutor, when they said there was no hope of his Life, *that God had granted to him the Prolongation of his Life as the return of his prayers that Morning*. But 'tis more strange to find such a Wicked Infidel, as was the Emperour *Tiberius*, saying to *Galba*, *Tu etiam degustabis imperium*; no doubt he had this from his Soothsayers, and consequently from the Devil; so that it is a greater Admiration, how such a jealous Prince suffered *Galba* to Live as his Rival in the Throne: but the best resolution is taken from the Tenour of the Response, *viz.* that *Galba in his Old Age should be Emperour*; but then he was Young and *Tiberius* Old, so that he might conclude, he could not be his immediate Successour: in which he was not mistaken, for *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*, were the intermediate successours.



It is worth the while to observe, that all Men generally affect *Divination*, or the *Knowledge of things to come*, this being an *Hereditary Disease* derived from our first Parents, ever since the Devil persuaded them, *they should be as Gods, knowing good and evil*: Yet for Christians to consult those whom they account *Prophets of the Lord*, tho' they are mistaken, we cannot call them worse than *Superstitious Creatures*; and such were those who had their recourse to *Montanus*, with his two Paramours *Maximilla* and *Priscilla*, false Prophets all, tho' some were so simple as to believe them to be true ones: but as for those who have their recourse to Magicians, Necromancers, Wizards, or Witches, and know them to be the Devils *Supposts*, (as no doubt K. *Saul* did, when he consulted that Witch at *Endor*) they may be justly said to have either an explicit, or, at least, an implicit Contract with the Devil: and 'tis very observable that none have been more curious for any future event, than Princes to know their immediate Successours; not only out of Vain Curiosity, but that (forsooth) they might find opportunity to destroy them, if they were not pleased with such a succession: and among Christian Princes, none have been more Sollicitous this way, then such whom the Devil hath prevail'd with to become Hereticks; for which I shall only instance the Emperour *Valens*, a bigot *Arian* Heretick, who, being told by a Necromancer, that the first Letters of his Successors name, were *Theod*; shed on that account, a World of innocent Blood: for many *Theodosii*, *Theodori*, *Theoduli*, *Theodoreti*, and *Theodosioli*, were most unjustly put to Death; (some-



(somewhat like the pretence of finding the Devils mark on an humane Body) yet he could not kill *Theodosius the Great*, whom Heaven had design'd to be his Successour, and yet never chang'd his Name, as many Hundreds out of Policy had done, for fear of that most unreasonable Tyrant.

It must needs be a most unreasonable Attempt for any to endeavour to kill his Successour, this, according to the old Philosopher, is a thing simply impossible, their being an apparent *Repugnantia in adjecto*, in the matter, for if it be supposed, that by the Decree of Heaven such an individual shall succeed, it is not only in vain to Counter-act to Divine Providence, but also such an Attempt is nothing less than a *Cyclopi*an impiety in fighting against God: but if a Prince shall reckon such a *Response*, concerning a Successour, to be false, 'tis folly to trouble his Head about it. Yet in such Foolish and Wicked Conduct, a great Mystery is many times found, in that it pleaseth the infinite Wisdom to make the Opposition of Foolish Men contribute most effectually to the accomplishment of the Divine decrees; of which we have a notable Example in the Life of another Heretical Emperour, previous in time to the former, *viz. Constantius*, who doated no less on those Diabolical Arts than did the Emperour *Valens*. For a Young Noble Man having, by way of Sport, told him, he had Dream'd, *that one wrapped in Purple proceeded from his Side*, and this being interpreted by the Soothsayers, as a Prognostick, *that an Emperour should come out of his Loins*; the too jealous Prince under some other pretence, put the Innocent Noble Man to Death:  
and



and confiscated his whole Estate to the Crown, his poor Lady was shortly afterwards brought to Bed of her first Born, which no doubt would have been sent after the Father, if he had been a Male, but being a Female, it was not regarded, and the disconsolate Mother dying in a few days for meer Poverty and Grief, the poor Orphan should have starv'd, if the Wife of one *Valentinian* a Commander in the Army had not taken pity upon it: But about the time she began to be of Age, *Valentinian* became Emperour, the first of that Name, whose too simple Wife, having seen this Maid in a Bath, recommended her to her Husband as the greatest Beauty upon Earth; which so inflamed the *Old Leacher*, that he would Marry her at any rate, tho' Polygamy was contrary both to Christianity and the *Old Roman Law*; and from her descended *Valentinian* the II<sup>d</sup>. who succeeded his Elder Brother *Gratian*, in the Western Empire: So that in all probability, if *Constantius* had not wrought such Tragedies, the ultimate end should not have been so Comical; for the Divine Decrees not only Comprehend the End, but also the Means which lead to it. Thus likewise, *Antigonus's* Dream concerning *Mithridates*, that Captive Prince of *Pontus*, instead of his design'd Ruin, became the occasion of his Promotion. But I cannot insist.

I shall briefly add two other Tragedies almost to the same purpose, the one of a Pagan Prince, the other of a nominal Christian; exact Parallels, both in unlawful Means and fatal Ends: to teach all Men, especially Sovereign Princes, not to be too anxious to know future Events, by the Devil's methods; least



least they share in the great Fatality which usually attends such Impious Consultations. The Emperor *Caracalla*, being in *Asia*, Consulted his Sorcerers at *Rome*, *If any was plotting against his Life; and who should be his immediate Successour?* In Answer to which, a Pacquet of Letters came to his Hand, when he was on Horse-back going a Hunting; and therefore putting them into the Hands of *Macrinus*, one of his Minions, and Captain of his Guard, he order'd him to give an Account of what they contain'd, upon his return: But this Trustee was deeply confounded when he read, *That one Macrinus, Captain of the Emperour's Guard, would bereave him of his Life, and become his immediate Successour:* For then, he had no such Design; but when he reflected seriously upon it, he found *he had a Wolf by the Ears*, for if he should give this Account to the Emperour, all his Protestations of Innocency, he was sure, would not save him from the Fury of such an unreasonable Tyrant; and if he conceal'd it, the Emperour might either call for the Letters, or have the same Intelligence renew'd, and thus the Consequence should be equally fatal; wherefore he resolv'd, as the safest course, to prevent him, as soon as he return'd. And having kill'd the Captain, whom he had persuaded to be the Assassine, he had the Honour, for some Months, to supply the Place of that Profane and Wicked Prince. The Parallel Tragedy, is of a *Scottish King*, reckon'd among Christian Princes, who sent such another Trustee to Consult a Witch; but being so like the foregoing Story, both in Conduct and Event, I shall insist no longer upon it.

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Yet before I end this Point, I cannot forbear to add a certain mix'd Story, which hath some Affinity with Divination, and may be call'd mix'd, because it contains what partly deserves to be commended, and partly to be condemn'd : *Anastasius*, Emperour of the East, being Childless, became jealous of one *Justin*, General of his Army, afterwards Nam'd *Justin* the Ist, That he affected the Empire, and therefore resolved to cut him off privately; as also his Nephew *Justinian*, whom he had brought up as his own Son and was after him *Justinian the Great*: But when he was deliberating how that most unjust Fact should be set about, he thought he heard a Voice from Heaven, saying, *Beware of shedding the Blood of those Innocents; for God will honour them as Instruments in bringing great good to the World.* Whereupon, he was not disobedient to the Heavenly Vision; and in this he did rightly: yet having a kindness for his Sister's Sons, he destin'd one of 'em to be his Successour; but referr'd the Determination of the Person to a kind of Lottery; for he brought them to a Chamber in the Palace, where, according to their number, there were three Beds, in one of which, he secretly hung the Imperial Crown, resolving, to declare him, his Successour, who choos'd that Bed; the Eldest, as he order'd, made the first choice, but mis'd the Crown; and so did the Second; so that he fully concluded, it would fall to the Youngest, till he heard him entreat, he might be permitted to lye with his Elder Brother: Then the Emperour cry'd out, *I perceive, the Imperial Dignity must go from my Blood; but the Will of the Lord be done: No doubt*



doubt, he erred in making a Sign to himself, and therefore was justly disappointed; but *Prestat sero sapere quam nunquam.*

I shall put a period to this great Point of Religion, by adding that notable Character of the true Happiness of a Religious Christian Prince, given by that eminent Luminary of the Latin Church, the great St. *Augustine*; it cannot be put in better Terms than his own, and therefore I shall keep close to his Words, so far as a Translation will bear.

*Christian Princes, saith he, are not Happy for Reigning long, or for dying in Peace, nor for leaving their Children Successors to their Crowns, nor for the Victories they have obtain'd over their Enemies; for such Advantages are common to them with ungodly Kings: Christian Princes are truly Happy, when they set up Justice, and when in the midst of the Praises given them, and Honours pay'd them, they are not swell'd with Pride; when they submit their Power to the Sovereign Power of God, and use it to make his Worship flourish; when they Fear, Love, and devoutly Adore the True and Living God; when they prefer (Infinitely before what they now possess) that Crown, about which they are not afraid to meet with any Competitors; when they are slow to Punish, and ready to Forgive; when they Punish only for the good of the Publick, and not to satisfy their Avarice, or Revenge; when they Forgive, purely that Men may be Corrected, and not that Crimes may be Countenanc'd; when being oblig'd to use Severity, they temper it with some Acts of Meekness and Clemency, when they are so much the more temperate in their Pleasures, by how much they have a greater Liberty to exceed; when they affect to Com-*



*mand their own Passions, rather than all the Nations of the World; and do all these Things not out of Vain-glory, but to obtain Eternal Happiness; and in short, when they are Careful to offer unto God for their sins, the Sacrifices of Contrition, and Humility, Mercy and Prayer: These, saith that Renown'd Saint, are the Christian Princes, whom we call Happy; Happy even in this World by Experience, and much more Happy, when that is come which we certainly look for. Thus far St. Augustine. To which, I shall crave leave to add, That they are a Happy People, who are bless'd with such a Prince.*

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*The Fourth and Last Property of Heroick Fortitude, is the Vertue of Temperance.*

**I** Shall insist the more briefly on this Head, partly because this Treatise is swell'd too big already; and partly, in regard, that many *Veins of Temperance*, may be found *inoculated* with those *Arteries of Fortitude, Justice and Prudence*, in the fore-going Discourses: For *Temperance* being a *due moderation of our irregular appetites, as to all the blandishments of the Flesh*; whosoever is indued with *Heroick Fortitude* must needs be a great Master of his Passions, and Lord over his Affections, and consequently, a Temperate Person.

Our Generous Prince must then, carefully moderate all Passions, governing them with such Prudence, that he may neither Love, nor Hate, Joy, nor Grieve, Hope, Fear, nor Desire with excess; but have all these different motions



Motions of his Will or Affections, always guided with Reason, and duly regulated according to those Bounds so fitly prescrib'd by our Holy Religion: many can conquer others, but few themselves; yet to overcome our own unruly Lusts, and to keep in subjection all impetuous Desires, and inordinate Appetites, makes us, deservedly, more glorious, than *Alexander the Great*, or *Julius Caesar*; for whoever thus conquers himself, subdues those Giants of Immorality, that master'd those mighty Conquerours: for, saith the Wise Man, *He that is slow to anger, is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city*: to which Divine Aphorism, that of the Heathen Poet directly alludes,

Prov. 16.32.

*Fortior qui se, quam qui fortissima vincit  
Mænia.*

All who thus behave themselves, have certainly praise of God, of the Holy Angels, and of all Wise and Good Men; and the Opinion of any other is not to be valued.

The most palpable deviations from the amiable path of this great Vertue, being Gluttony, Drunkenness, and Lasciviousness; I shall discourse, but a little, of the odiousness of each of 'em, in any of the Children of Men, especiall Sovereign Princes; of whom it was well said, by one of their own Rank, *That 'tis the filthiest thing in the World, to see a Man commanding others, who hath no rule over his own Passions, sensual Appetites, and brutish Affections*. That celebrated expression of a Noble Roman, *Major sum & ad majora natus, quam ut sim mancipium mei corporis*, is

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applicable to all who may be said, *by the stroke of Circe's Rod*, to be transform'd into *Goats and Apes, Dogs and Swine*: on which account, 'tis judiciously observ'd by some *Roman* Historians, that the old *Greek* Empire was sufficiently avenged on the *Romans* for subduing it, because *Lucullus*, and some other of their Generals, brought the *Asiatick* Luxuries and vile Effeminacies to *Rome*; which at last conquer'd their Conquerors: and it is the best Apology, the greatest Champions in the *Roman* Church, can find for their Pope *Joan*, that it was not a physical but a moral Metamorphosis; *Pope John the VIII*, say they, *being such a voluptuous Epicure*, that by some *Writers of that Age*, he was deservedly said to have degenerated into the more imperfect Sex; tho' the physical transformation of the perfecter Sex into the imperfect was never yet heard of: nay, 'tis possible, a Dog becoming a King in a certain Country, might have had the same figurative *Original*.

But undoubtedly, 'tis the most Ignominious and ridiculous Spectacle in the World, to see a brutish Creature Cloathed in Purple and set upon a Royal Throne; and that Tribute of external Homage which is unwillingly pay'd to such a *State Idol*, by all sober Subjects, too nearly resembles that adoration exhibited by the old *Ægyptians*, to some despicable Beasts in their Gorgeous Temples. I have already notic'd the great Infamy that attended the Emperors *Claudius* and *Vitellius*, for their, more than beastly, Gluttonies; as for those whose Appetites err'd rather in quality than quantity, such as King *Demetrius*, *Mark Antony*, *Cleopatra*, *Helio-*



*Heliogabalus, Lucullus and Apircius*; the best that can be said of them, is, that they were more prodigal Epicures, and delicious Gluttons than other sensual Creatures in the World; for by dissolving Oriental Pearls in strong Vinegar, it was truly said of 'em, *they design'd to drink whole Kingdoms at one draught*: but the saying of *Pompey the Great* was truly Noble, when his Physicians advised the eating of a certain Bird, which, at that Season was only to be found in the Aviary of *Lucullus*; what, said he, *Cannot Pompey live without the Luxury of Lucullus?* yet he did survive his Disease, Tho' he refused those delicacies. This noble Resolution was nigh of kin to that answer he gave the Pilot, who told him, *he would run the hazard of his life, if he went to Sea in such a Storm; Neceſſe eſt ut eam*, said he, *non ut vivam*; he was sent to *Sicily* for Provision of Corn to *Rome*, at that time in a starving condition for want of Bread; so that, he spoke not, like that selfish Monk, who stroaked down his fat Belly, and said, *Modo hic ſit bene*, he cared not what came of Church or State: but like himself, a Man of a publick Spirit; as in many instances he was, tho' not in all.

It was the observation of the Poets long ago, *That Wiſdom is darken'd with Wine, and Luſt and Fury are the Off-ſpring of Bacchus*; and the World needs not to be told, that Drunkards are neither fit to be Friends, because of their Futility; nor for the Conversation of peaceable Men, in regard of their quarrelsome humour; and that they are pitied by Wise Men, and scorned by Fools: so that it is no wonder to find the Soldiers of the Emperour



*Bonosus* deriding him, when they saw the fatal end he had brought himself to, after his Usurpation had gone against him; *That it was not a Man, but a Tankard that was hanging there*; for he was the greatest drinker that ever was, having such a *Diabetes*, that he could evacuate a whole Tun of Wine, almost as speedily and easily as it was injected: I say, it is no wonder that he was mocked, when a much greater Spirit, even the Great *Alexander*, became contemptible in the eyes of his own Army, for his Drunkenness and irrational Cruelty, after he became a Vorary of *Bacchus*; as was experimented by his Foster Brother, the gallant *Clitus*, and many others.

Nay, I am apt to think, it was in a drunken fit he commanded to burn the Carriages of all his Army, which was indeed the price of their Blood for many Years, and that his escaping with his own Blood, is to be imputed to his *felix temeritas*: but 'tis most certain, that in a drunken fit and by the instigation of an *Athenian* Whore, he caused burn down the state-liest Palace in the World, even the most beautiful *Persopolis*; of which he had good reason to be ashamed, when *Parmenio* reprov'd him, after he had slept out his Surfeit: and when I consider his indefatigable trade of drinking, immediately before he sickned, I rather agree with *Plutarch*, that this occasion'd the Fever which at last cut him off; than with the common Tradition, that he was poyson'd, by his Cup-bearer, with the water of *Styx*, and that not without the privity of his old Master *Aristotle*: and such is the infatuation attending inveterate Drunkards, that they will take



take with no warning; for not long before his death, *Calanus* the *Indian* from his own Funeral Pile, forwarn'd him, *that he would meet him again at Babylon*; yet in his Progress thither, as he march'd with his Army through the Province of *Caramania*, such were their *Bacchanals* for seven Days and Nights, that the most of the Army, with their *drunken Leader*, practis'd a continual Riot, without either Offensive or Defensive Arms, except those of *Bacchus*; so that, as the judicious *Raleigh* well observes, *A few resolute Persians might have easily defeated all that beastly Rout.*

As for that Species of Intemperance, usually termed Lust; 'tis very observable that the two great Rivals in Honour and Arms, *Alexander the Great*, and *Julius Cæsar*, may be termed *Antipodes* as to some Vertues and Vices: *Cæsar* was none of *Bacchus's* retinue, being the *first of all the Romans* (saith *Cato the younger*) *who with sobriety invaded the Liberties of the People*: but *Alexander* was much his Superiour in Chastity, of which a more convincing evidence needs not be desired, than his shutting his Eyes (as it were) against the temptation of the greatest Beauties on the face of the Earth, the Wife and Daughters of *Darius*, even when they were his Captives. But tho' I do not believe what is alleadged of *Cæsar's* vile Intrigue with the King of *Bithynia* in his younger days; yet that he was a great Palliard, was so well known to his own Army, that his Soldiers did not stick to upbraid him with it on the days of his most solemn Triumphs, by calling him a *Bald Cuckold-maker*: tho' I suppose they were at some distance



distance from the Triumphant Chariot when they presum'd to do so.

That *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Heliogabalus* and *Caracalla*, were most Lascivious Princes, is too much notic'd in History; tho' that Monster of Nature *Nero* had the impudence to profess, that there was not any Man, if put in his Circumstances, but would be prone to commit such Villanies; for they who have acquir'd a habit in Wickedness judge all Vertuous Persons to be no better than Hypocrites: but I do not intend to defile my Pen with an account of such vile Practices; the same, as is hinted before, being too fully given by *Suetonius* and *Lampridius*. Nay, *Augustus Caesar*, tho' undoubtedly indu'd with many Princely Vertues, was justly tax'd for having too much of his Grand-Uncles Lascivious Blood running in his Veins: for besides the many young Beauties brought to him, out of Policy, by his own Wife *Livia*, he was too Familiar with Married Women, especially the Senators Wives; which some Historians (as is above notic'd) impute more to Policy than Lust, that thereby he might discover their Husbands Secrets; A piece of Policy, having more of carnal Wit in it, than if a cunning Concubine had expiscat from him the greatest Mysteries of State, to give notice of them to any Forreign Prince, to the prejudice of the Empire! as for this kind of Intemperance in Married Christian Princes, which hath too much abounded in this Iron Age, to the great scandal of our Holy Religion; they have good reason to fear, that such *Pagan Kings* as those of *Ægypt* and *Gerar*, in the days of *Abraham* and *Isaac*, shall rise in the great

Audit



Audit and condemn them for their great Immorality.

Here occasion offers to resolve a considerable Query, concerning the Marriages of Sovereign Princes; which was answer'd by the Poet long ago, and that in reference to all Men,

*Nubere si qua voles nubere, Nube pari,*

thereby importing not only parity of Age, Humour, and Quality, but also Religion; the last of which is meant by the Apostle when he says, *be ye not unequally yoked*: and what inconveniences have attended such an Inequality, especially in Royal Conjugations, needs not be told. I confess, the Grand Seignieur is always sure, that such whom he finds in his *Seraglio* are of his own Religion, (if they have any Religion at all) but who can assure him, that they have not been expos'd in their infancy, so that an adulterous or incestuous Brat may become the Mother of his Successor; for corporeal beauty is not ty'd to Noble or Legitimate Blood: Tho' the *Russians* do almost equal the *Turks* in Barbarity, yet the constant method of their great Duke is more commendable, in causing assemble all the Marriageable Daughters of his Nobility, or *Cnez*, as they term them; who no doubt make that first appearance in their *Holy-days dress*; and out of that fair Society, the *Czar*, or great Duke, chooseth a Consort to his Bed, as best pleaseth his fancy: and most usually a beautiful *Esther* is preferr'd; for Princes are not passive but active in the Matrimonial Honour; and it hath been frequently known, that a Powerful and Dutiful



tiful subject, when Honour'd to become Father in Law to his Prince, hath signified more for his true interest, than any forraign Alliance whatsoever: for *where do we find exil'd Princes Retriev'd by their Royal affinities?* Neither can they, who thus practise ocular inspection, be trepan'd by the Liberality of the Painter; which prov'd fatal to the great Lord *Cromwel* in the business of Lady *Ann Cleve*: K. *James* the 5th of *Scotland* being, in this, much Wiser than *Henry* the VIIIth of *England*, for he still trusted his own Eyes above the Pencil of a Painter, or any other information.

A Married State, being prescrib'd by unerring Wisdom as a most proper Remedy against one kind of intemperance, the foregoing paragraph cannot Justly be reckon'd a digression: Yet least any think so, I shall return, and heartily adore and magnify infinite Goodness, that, as ill as the World has been and yet is, there is *Gold enough* to be found to counterpoise that too abounding *Dross*, and that not only among Christian Princes, but even *Pagans*, and *Mahometans*. If we believe *Zenophon*, never any Prince was more Chast, Sober, and Temperate, than the Grand *Cyrus*; tho' a meer *Pagan*: and some Histotians do much celebrate four *Mahometan* Princes for shunning the pleasures of the Lower Belly, as vain and empty delights; viz. *Saladin*, sultan of *Egypt*, and Conquerour of *Syria*, and the Holy-land; who professed he carry'd nothing to the Grave with him but a poor *Winding Sheet* to shroud himself in: as also, the great *Almansor*, one of the *Saracen* Caliphs; The 3d, was that *Xeriff* of *Morocco*, who gave the



the fatal defeat to *Sebastian K. of Portugal*; and finally, *Solyman the Magnificent*; had he not doated too much on *Roxallana*, which occasion'd many horrid Tragedies in his own Family: Neither must another Pagan Prince be forgot, namely *Marcus Aurelius*, a Philosopher indeed, as to all those Acts of Temperance, in a superlative degree. Which minds me of *Julian the Apostate*, who propos'd this *Marcus* for his Pattern, as saith *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and exactly imitated him, in his admirable Temperance; so that 'tis great pity he should have prov'd such a detestable *Backslider* from the Christian Faith, who was so eminent in Abstinence, Sobriety, and Chastity.

As for Christian Princes. It was truly said of *Theodosius Elder*, and Younger, of *St. Lewis of France*, of *Alphonso of Arragon and Naples*, and of *Philip the III<sup>d</sup> of Spain*, as to their Personal deportment; that their Courts resembled the most Religious Houses, for all sorts of Temperance: The same was observed of the famous King *Alfred*, *Edward the Confessor*, and *Henry the VI<sup>th</sup> of England*, and of King *Malcolm the III<sup>d</sup>*, and his Youngest Son *St. David*, of *Scotland*: Nay, there was a *Scottish King*, previous to them both, as much magnify'd for his Morals by *St. Columba*, as any Prince can be; for that extraordinary *Attester* declares, the said Prince was nothing inferiour to the best of *Monks* in his time, as to his Christian contempt of all blandishments of the Flesh; and these being *Recluses* of the first edition, the Commendation is much greater, than if the Comparison had been instituted with many of posteriour Ages



Ages ; for that most worthy *Abbot* had many excellent Associates with himself in that most famous Monastery of *Icolmkill* in the Isle of *Jona*, or *Hye*.

There are two other Affections of the Concupisble Faculty, inconsistent with the Generosity of a Sovereign Prince ; namely, the immoderate desire of Wealth, and an excessive appetite after Honour, Power, and Knowledge ; the former is fitly term'd Avarice, and the latter Ambition. 'Tis told already at some length, that Covetousness is a great blemish to any Prince, and bereaves him of the Love of his People, as soon as any Vice whatsoever ; and that not only by a direct, but by a reflex Act ; I mean, when he connives at any who thus oppress his People ; for the dullest among 'em will readily apply to the Prince that Maxim of Law, *quod per servum facio, id facio* : So that the excuse Pope *Paul* the III<sup>d</sup>. made for his graceless Son *Aloisius*, the first Prince of *Parma*, was reckon'd ridiculous ; since, *non me commonstratore hoc didicit*, laid no restraint upon his detestable Vices. We Read of *Mammaea*, Mother to the Emperour *Alexander Severus*, that she call'd for the famous *Origen* to instruct her in the Principles of the Christian Religion ; but sure I am, he never taught her the Vice of Avarice, whereby she pav'd the way to her Son's ruin ; an Excellent moral Prince ! had he not allowed his unhappy Mother too much Will and Way.

But on the contrary it hath been also declar'd, that Liberality, even in Tyrants by Usurpation, is apt to conciliate to them the  
favour



favour of a subjugated People; so that when urgent necessity compells them to a Tax, they rather seem to Shear their Flock than to Fleece them: but now 'tis fit to be told, that nothing is more pernicious to a Prince than immoderate Liberality, which usually degenerates into base Avarice, and then into Tytanny, by oppressing his subjects with immoderate Taxes to supply his unaccountable profusenefs: An extravagant subject ruins only himself, but an Exorbitant Prince ruins himself and the State too: The *Scottish* Historians give a sad instance for this, in King *Malcolm* the 11d, who, by running from one extream to the other, brought himself at last to a dismal end: for being well pleas'd that his Nobles had so vigorously and chearfully aided him in repulsing the fierce *Danes*, who thought to have made a prey of all *Scotland*, he distributed the most part of the Crown Lands among 'em, reserving little else to himself, except (as 'tis term'd in the *Feudal Law*) the *Ward and Relief* of those Lands during the Minority of the Vassal; as also the disposal of the Heir in Marriage: but finding these *Casualties* too small a Revenue for a Prince, he begun to Verify the old proverb, *Necessity is a great Enemy to Honesty*; for his multiply'd Oppressions soon brought him to a fatal End: whereas upon the other hand, *Vespasian's Dulcis odor Lucri, e re qualibet*, was not so unfavory to the *Roman* Senate, when he convinc'd them, that from the days of *Caligula*, inclusive to his own time, these prodigal Emperours had not only mispent the whole Revenues of the *Roman* Empire, but also burden'd the publick with the debt of many Millions



lions of Crowns, that they might consume the same upon their Lusts.

The excessive desire of Honour and Power in Ambitious Princes, imports either the affectation of enlarging their Dominions upon Earth, or their blasphemous sentiments and wishes of being made *Heavenly Powers*: that the former is a piece of Folly, is evident from the above mention'd Censure of it given by a very Solid Prince, the great *Augustus Caesar*: and as to the latter, they are fitter for Bedlam than a Throne, who entertain such impious and ridiculous Thoughts; yet such were *Alexander the Great*, *Caligula*, and *Domitian*. I shall therefore only speak a little against the foolish vanity of those Princes who affect to excell all other Men in the *Liberal* and *Illiberal Arts*, as if their Sovereignty upon Earth had given them a kind of Deity: I have already, at some length, accounted for the great advantages of solid Knowledge in Princes; but it being a common Maxim, *Artifici in sua arte credendum*, it argues the greatest Vanity in any to desire to excel all the World in all Arts which are practis'd in it; for the Capacities of Princes were never so enlarg'd as to be able to comprehend all things, and in attempting to do so they expose their own Ignorance; as did that Nobleman of *Persia*, for speaking *Nonsense* to the Famous *Appelles* in the matter of his Trade.

The Emperour *Adrian* was brim full of this Vanity, a Knowing Prince indeed, but he fondly imagin'd, he knew more than really he did, or needed to know: it was therefore well answer'd by a School-master, who knew the Emperor's vain humour, and was chid by  
some



some of his Friends for suffering him to carry away the Victory in a Grammatical debate, *What*, (said he) *would you have me dispute my best against him who commands thirty Legions?* for all Inferiours are bound in Civility to let a Word pass, in verbal Conflicts, with their Superiors, especially Sovereign Princes; unless their silence tend to the prejudice of Divine Truth. Had not *Ptolomeus Lagus* been a very mild Prince, the Insolency of a School-master at *Alexandria* would have brought himself to a Gibbet. It is also a well known Story concerning that Cup-bearer of K. *James* the 1st of great *Britain*, that his *Saucy Repartee* lost him his Butlership. And beside what is said already of the Emperour *Adrian*, his demolishing that curious Marble-bridge, (the stateliest that ever was) which his Predecessour *Trajan* erected over the *Danaw*, is justly imputed by some to a Principle of Envy, and by others to Vanity, because he could not do better himself: but these are easily reconcil'd, it being impossible to separate Vanity from that base Principle of Envy.

But tho' Subjects ought not, in Discretion, to imploy their greatest Eloquence and subtlest Logick, in their Verbal Debates with Princes; yet in matters of Practice, where Duty obligeth, and the Prince requireth it of them; they are bound to do their best, or to be reckon'd Unfaithful, altho' the King himself should undertake part of the Work, or the same Species of it: Thus *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, was greatly blam'd, tho' otherways an Excellent Prince; for, having receiv'd Letters from the Pope about some important Affair, he order'd his Secretary to Pen an An-



swer, as well as he could, and he himself would do the like, that the best of the two might be transmitted; but when the King, next Morning, perus'd the Secretary's Draught, it so far out-vy'd his own, that immediately he threw the Royal Draught into the Fire, and, very shortly after, the Secretary out of his Office; not considering, that by his Employment he was bound to be a better *Formalist* than a King, not to speak of his Oath *de Fideli*: So that he might very pertinently have answer'd the King in the Words of the Musician to Philip of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander the Great*, when he Controverted with him about some Mysteries in Musick, *The Gods for bid, thatever your Majesty should be brought so low, as to know these Matters better than I do*: Which was an Implicit Re-proof, insinuating, That many minute matters there are, altogether eccentric to the Sphere of Royalty: The Prince of the *Latin* Poets having told the World no less, long ago, in these Lines,

*Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra, &c.*

*Tu regere Imperio populos, Romane, memento:*

*Hæ tibi erunt artes, &c.*

If the Sence of these Words had been well consider'd by *Dionysius* the Elder, Tyrant of Sicily, that Morose Philosopher should not have had occasion to say, *Have me back again to the Quarries*, when he could not endure any Poesy *invita Minerva*: Neither would *Nero* have made, *Quantus artifex perco*, his last Words: but it seems *Vespasian* thought not



not his Voice so Divine, as his Flatterers made him believe; for he had almost lost his Life, for Sleeping, when that Tyrant was busy at his Musical Pageantry in the *Amphitheater*.

In the next place, Let us Treat a little of the *Irascible Faculty*; which when greatly disorder'd, makes the greatest Tyrants in the World: For Wrath and Malice, (which is *ira inveterata*) with excessive Revenge, and fierce Cruelty, are deriv'd therefrom. It is the Observation of a Roman Poet.

*Non bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur  
Majestas & Amor.*

Which truly insinuates, That *Doating Love*, is Indecent in any Prince: But *that Passion* which is justly call'd *Furor brevis*, while it continues, is much more uncomely for a Crown'd Head. Some Barbarous Nations in Germany, call'd *Quadi*, and *Marcomanni*, breaking in upon the Roman Empire, provok'd *Valentian* the first to march against them with a great Army; but these Savages hearing of this formidable Expedition, sent their Ambassadors to meet the Emperour mid-way, and deprecate his Wrath with such Eloquence as they were Masters of: He found fault with their Course ragged Cloaths, thinking they had come so Accoutred in Contempt of his Majesty; but when they plainly told him, *That instead of Acting the Politick part of the Gibeonites, they, as Ambassadors, had really borrow'd the best Apparel which could be found amongst their ragged People*: That too Cholerick Prince, fell into such a Rage at those *Flatterdemalions*, that within few Hours he



Bled to Death at the Nose, notwithstanding of all the Diversion his Physicians could make by *Phlebotomy* in both his Arms.

It was no such Wonder that *Valentinian* was so much concern'd for being drawn from *Rome* by such *Tag* and *Rag*. as to find a more Stay'd Prince, the great *Augustus Caesar*, manifesting such excessive Grief and Anger, that he appear'd divers times like a Mad-man: For when he was inform'd, That *Arminius*, the Prince of the *Cherusci*, with some other *German* Associates, had entirely destroy'd the *Roman* Legions, with their Commander *Quintilius Varus*, and seiz'd two *Roman* Eagles; (which were never restor'd, tho' the *Parthians* had shew'd them good Example, yet if we believe *Cuspinian*, they are kept in *Germany* to this Day :) I say, *Augustus* having heard of this great Disaster, knock'd his Head against the Wall more than once, (for his Passion continu'd the space of three Months) and frequently cry'd out, *Quintili Vare redde Legiones*. From which unprincely Deportment, we may easily infer, That he had quite forgot the Solid Counsel, frequently given him by *Athenodorus* the Philosopher, That he should Determine nothing in Passion, till he had repeated, at great leisure, the 24 Letters of the Greek Alphabet. But, that Meekness, Patience, and Humility, are the great Ornaments of a Generous Prince, we need no other Evidence, than that they are the Glorious Epithets of the Prince of Peace: Yet many Christian Princes have good Reason to fear, that *Cotys* a Pagan King in *Thracia*, shall rise up in Judgment and Condemn them, who was so careful to prevent his Passions, that with his  
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own Hands, he broke all those curious Christal Glasses, a Neighbour Prince had sent him, least by the Carelesness of his Servants he should at any time be tempted to Anger or Impatience.

To reckon out all the Examples to be found in Sacred and Profane History of such Princes, who were too much sway'd by their Exorbitant and Barbarous Passions of Malice and Revenge, and that upon the Bodies of their Enemies, whether Living or Dead; would fill up a considerable Volume: I shall only Point at some few Instances from Human History, (presuming, that all Christians are well acquainted with the Sacred) that I may hasten to the close of this long, and perhaps, tedious Treatise. Neither do I intend to defile my Pen with the Names of those Sanguinary Roman Emperors, who, when they were Tormenting Innocent Creatures, utter'd such Unnatural Expressions, as the worst of *Hircanian* Tygers, tho' they could Speak, could not exceed them; some of them, having profess'd that they felt a great deal of Pleasure in feeding their Eyes with such ruthless Spectacles, even when they were Cramming their Bodies, and that such an horrid sight made their Meat go down the better: It was the Cruel Order of another to the Executioner, *Ita feri, ut semori sentiat*: A third could say, *Non adhuc tecum redii in gratiam*, when the miserable Patient pleaded for no other Favour, but to be put out of Pain by the sudden stroke of Death: And what *Vitellius* said, when he saw the Carcasses of the Roman Citizens roting in great Heaps above-ground, hath been told already.



But 'tis worth the while, to notice the *bloody Word*, utter'd by the Emperour *Tiberius*, because it gives occasion to observe what different Affections may be manifested by the same specifick Expressions; nay, that the same individual Word may proceed from inward Passions, no less contrary to one another than *East* is to *West*; as being an Evidence of the greatest Generosity in the one, but of the height of Malice in the other: I begin with the latter, because previous as to the Series of time; *Tiberius*, hearing of a *Roman*, whom he had design'd for a most tormenting Death, for fear of it, had dispatch'd himself, cry'd out *Evasisti*, *Thou hast escap'd me*, meaning, that his Revenge was not sufficiently satisfy'd because he dy'd so easily; as having, it seems, a more Cruel Heart in his Breast than that bloody Instrument of the Infamous *Triumviri*, who Quarrell'd one of the *Proscripti* for declining a Thrust, which he had made at his Heart: But the Emperour *Adrian*, immediately after his Elevation to the *Roman Throne*, perceiving his old Enemy to skulk by, for fear of his new Power, utter'd the same Word, *Evasisti*, in a more Generous Sense; meaning, that his former Adversary was now become *indignus Caesaris ira*; and that Fortune cannot give a Prince a nobler kind of Revenge than by Investing the Injur'd with Authority over the Injurer.

This Generous Topick induc'd *Lewis* the XIIth of *France* to return a nobler Answer to these malicious Parasites, who urg'd him, after he was King, to avenge himself of those who persuaded *Charles* the VIIIth to put him in Prison, while he was Duke of *Orleance*;

'Tis



'Tis below the King of France, said he, to notice the Quarrels of the Duke of Orleance. Such another Generous Expression is father'd on the said Charles; That having occasion, at Roan in Normandy, to see the magnificent Tomb of the Gallant Duke of Bedford, Brother to Henry the Vth, and Protector of France; some about him suggested, that it ought to be demolish'd, because he had been a great Firebrand in France during his Regency; God forbid (said the King) that I should demolish or deface the Monument of such a Brave Prince, who, whilst he liv'd, made all France to tremble: But I suppose, the Honour of this Expression, is due rather to Charles the 7th, a Prince of greater Spirit than the other, who had sufficient Experience of the Gallantry of Bedford, because he liv'd in his time, and might have said with the Poet,

*Quorum pars magna fui.*

The Emperor *Vespasian* is much magnify'd by *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* for many Princely Vertues, and tho' he was taxed by many as too fordid, and *Nimis attentus ad rem*; yet they apologize for him, that necessity oblig'd him to it, in order to the reestablishment of the Roman State, after so great concussions by many Epicurean Tyrants: but I find no Historian offering to excuse his too great severity towards *Julius Sabinus*, who, about the beginning of *Vespasian's* Reign, had been proclaim'd *Cæsar* by the Legions he commanded in *Gaul*, which was very usual after *Nero's* time; for even in his lifetime the Legions in *Spain* and *Gaul*, declar'd *Galba* Emperor, and



as soon as the Pretorian Souldiers had dispatch'd old *Galba*, they raised up *Otho* to the Throne; then the Legions in *Germany* made choice of *Vitellius*; and it was by the *Syrian*, *Palestine*, and *Ægyptian* Legions that *Vespasian* himself was first elected Emperor.

But *Sabinus*, being worsted by the Forces of *Vespasian*, fled to a Village of his own, and orderd his most trusty Servant to set it on Fire, and give out, that his Master had burnt himself therein; but he lurk'd in his Father's Monument the space of nine Years, none being privy to his absconding, save his Wife and that trusty Slave, who brought his Wife to the place after the days of her simulat Mourning were ended; where she brought forth two Children: but becoming at last weary of his being (as it were) buried alive so long, and adventuring abroad to the Light of this World, he was immediately seiz'd upon; and tho' his dolorous Lady, with a flood of tears, pleaded very eloquently for him, and among her other Topicks, told the Emperour, she had brought those Children to augment the number of his Supplicants: So that all the Company weep'd amain, yet that hard hearted Prince sentenc'd both Husband and Wife to Death.

The Emperor *Constantius*, otherways not much Renown'd, was more Generous than *Vespasian*, in a business of the same nature; for having got into his power, one who had rebelled against him under the notion of Emperor, he not only spar'd his Life, on his humble Deprecation, but also allow'd him a very convenient Maintenance in *Asia the less*, all the days of his Life; so that he had reason  
to



to say with *Themistocles*, *Periissem nisi periissem*: and the good Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* not only weep'd, when he heard, that one, who had usurp'd the Title of Emperor, was kill'd by his Souldiers, but also regreted he had not been brought to him alive, that he might have tasted abundantly of his Mercy; and they who well knew that noble Emperor, were far from imagining, that he hypocris'd in what he said.

It is an Old Proverb, *Flattery goes no further than the Grave*; but such an inhuman Passion is Malice, that it often reacheth far beyond it; tho' *Lactantius*, one of the Ancient Fathers, spoke both Christianly and by a rational and natural Consequence, when he said, *Ira mortalium debet esse mortalis*: Nay, an Heathen Poet could say of a great Man, who, while he liv'd, was much hated by Vicious Persons, *Extinctus amabitur idem*: and all sober Heathens judg'd it a most hateful thing, *Temerare manes sepulti*; insomuch that *Solon* the *Athenian* Lawgiver prohibited the *speaking evil of the dead*, under a very severe Penalty: which Generous Sentiments of the Heathen, minds me of a great irregularity, practis'd not long ago by some Christians, which the sober Heathen would have been asham'd of, and afraid to commit; and 'tis justly to be fear'd, that the Righteous Judge of the World hath visited the Iniquity of such Fathers on their Children; namely, of those, who in *France* presum'd to violate the Ashes of the Dead, even of many, who in the Judgment of Charity were accounted *Blessed* for *Dying in the Lord*: And I am apt to think, they would not have dar'd to do so, had they duly ponder'd



ponder'd what is threatned in the beginning of the 2d Chapter of the Prophecy of *Amos*.

If Pope *Formosus* dy'd in the Lord, is best known to God; but I find most of the Wits of *Italy*, who liv'd after his time, condemning his Successours for deforming and mangling his Body, more than once, long after it was dead and bury'd: yet 'tis no great wonder to find *Platina*, *Guicciardin*, *Machiavel*, *Bocace*, *Petrarch*, *Angelus Politianus*, *Hermolaus Barbarus* and *Picus Mirandula*, taxing those Popes with great Inhumanity; being no great Admirers of that *Roman Idol*: Since we find their great Annalist *Baronius*, who was too ready to palliate the Faults of the Pretended *Head* of the Church, inveighing most severely against those Unnatural Criminals, as not Popes, nor Christians, nor Men, but Devils cloath'd with Flesh; and in short, the greatest Monsters of the *infelix Seculum*, which comprehended the ninth and tenth Centuries.

Neither is it so great a wonder to find a Christian Historiographer Writing at this rate, when *Herodian*, a Pagan Biographer, by the very Light of Nature, judg'd *Septimius Severus* the Roman Emperour, most Unnatural, on that same Account: For when the Insolent *Prætorians* had Murder'd their Emperour *Pertinax*, and sold the Empire to that Naughty Chapman *Didius Julianus*; *Septimius Severus* was chosen Emperour, by his Legions in *Illyricum*; *Pescennius Niger*, by those in *Syria*; and *Clodius Albinus*, by the Legions in *Britain*; *Severus*, being a Man of great Dispatch, took the start of the rest, by coming first to *Rome*, where he was own'd by the Senate,  
and



nd having design'd to Attack *Pesceninus Niger* in the first place, that *Albinus* might be quiet, he declar'd him *Cæsar*, and Conjunct with himself in the Empire; but as soon as he had ruin'd *Niger*, he pick'd a Quarrel against *Albinus*, routed his Army in *France*, and kill'd himself on the Head of it; and not satisfy'd with all this, he most Inhumanly trod his dead Body under his Horse's Feet, again and again.

Whereas *Antigonus Gonatas*, Son to K. *Demetrius*, had long before Taught him a more Generous Lesson; for, tho' *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* had driven him out of his Kingdom of *Macedon*; yet when the Head of that restless Prince was brought before him, after his fatal End at *Argos*, he was so far from rejoycing at this great Disaster of his Enemy, that he Weep'd, and Frown'd upon his Son *Alcioneus*, calling him *Cruel Murderer*, and an Inhumane Unnatural Wretch, for bringing it to him, and order'd to carry it to the Son of *Pyrrhus*, that a King's Head might receive a Royal Interment: But we must remember, that *Antigonus* was a *Greek*, and *Septimius Severus*, a Barbarous *African*; of whom too many are known to be Treacherous, Subtil, and extreamly Vindictive: Yet 'tis worth the while to notice the Response, *Albinus* got from the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, when he was about to Transport his Army to the Continent of *Europe*, viz.

*Arma amens Capio, nec sat rationis in armis*; If *Severus* had consulted that Heathen Oracle, 'tis possible his response had been.

*Electere si nequeo superos Acheronta Move-*  
bo. Yet



Yet another *African*, the famous *Hannibal* behaved more generously, in a case of this Nature, than some of the *Romans*, as Cruel, Treacherous, and Barbarous as they us'd to term him; for tho' *Marcellus* the *Roman* Consul troubled him more than any of their Generals, it being of him that he used to say, *he dealt with an Enemy who could not be at rest, neither Conquerour nor Conquered*; yet when that sly *Carthaginian* had at last intangled him in his *Toyles*, he was so far from abusing his Dead Body, that, when it was burnt, conform to the custom of those Times, he caused put the Ashes into a Silver Urn, and setting a Crown of Gold upon it, sent the same to his Friends: which was infinitely more Generous than what the Consul *Nero* did afterwards; for having defeated the Gallant *Asdrubal*, Brother to *Hannibal*, at the River *Metaurus*, he cut off his Head, and threw it most insolently into the *Carthaginian* Camp; on which occasion *Hannibal* said, *Video infelicitatem Carthaginis*; and might as truly have said, *video inhumanitatem Romæ*: but this he utter'd afterwards, when *Titus Quintus Flaminius* requir'd the King of *Bithynia*, to deliver up that *Old terror* of his Country to the *Romans*; then *Hannibal* Exclaim'd against the degeneracy of that State since the days of *Fabricius*, who acquainted their causeless Enemy *Pyrrhus*, with the Treacherous design of his Physician to take away his Life. I shall shut up this particular with an account of a most inhumane and Cruel Act in a Christian Prince, which, considering his great Qualities, I can very hardly believe, tho' *Buchanan* pretends a constant Tradition



dition for it, in his time; That King *James* the I. of *Scotland*, sent to the Wife of Duke *Murdo*, the Heads of her Husband, Sons, and Father; to see what she would say in the rage of her grief: yet was disappointed of his design: but *sit fides penes Authorem*: for some are prone to believe, that *Buchanan* was glad to find an *hole* in any King's Coat. Yet I am apt to give Faith to that Cruel Act of *Sertorius*, tho' otherways a Man of very great parts, that he put to Death, or Sold for Slaves, the Noblemens Sons in *Spain*, whom he brought up at School in the City of *Osia*, for they were in effect Hostages for their Rebellicious Parents; yet it was a baser Act than that which *Sertorius* so much exclaim'd against in *Metellus*, viz. his promising a hundred Talents to any who would kill *Sertorius*.

There is one instance of Inhumanity I must add, tho' it concerns a Prince, who pretended to as much Generosity as any Man, nameiy *Alexander the Great*, who is greatly to be blam'd, for using (or rather abusing) the Gallant Governour of *Gaza* so Cruelly: I have already insinuated, that in Courage and Fidelity he excell'd all the Captains of that unfortunate and foolish *Persian* Monarch, so that he might rationally have expected a better reward, even from a Generous Enemy, than to have been dragg'd at an Horse Tayle about that City which he had preserv'd for his Royal Master, so long as he was able to hold out, against a much greater force. Neither can it excuse *Alexander*, that what he did was in imitation of his great Pattern *Achilles*, from whose Loynes he pretended to be descended, who thus ignominiously hal'd *Hector* the great Cham-



Champion of *Troy* about the Walls thereof if we believe the report of the much admir'd Poet *Homer* ; but if it be found, that his great Padrone was (according to *Homer's* description) a meer stranger to true Generosity, it will necessarily follow, that whosoever exactly trac'd the Footsteps of *Achilles*, had a very weak Title to that Noble Quality.

I take this occasion to give my sentiments on the Works of *Homer*, especially the Character of the great Hero of his Book: It is undeniable, that he hath left to the World many excellent Lines of *Greek* verse, his Poesy, as Sir Fr. Bacon well observes, *having a certain slyde in it above all others of that faculty*: but that he was a great stranger to the proper description of an *Heroick Prince*, I suppose, will easily appear; for not to speak of that Epithet of *swift-footed Achilles*, which he too frequently gives his great Champion, as if he had been describing a good Post, like that Footman of K. *Francis* the I. rather than a Hero; there are several other circumstantial actions of his Life, which if any can reconcile to true Generosity, *erit mihi magnus Apollo*; such as, his being so furious in his Pride and Passion, that in his rage he regarded neither Inferiours, Equals, nor Superiours; and that *Agamemnon*, was Superiour to all those petty *Greek* Princes, is most evident, because he was chosen Captain General of all the *Greek* Forces with Common consent, being King both of *Argos* and *Mycene*: but how this pretended Hero abus'd his Royal General, I refer to *Homer's* own Narration.

I do ingeniously confess, that too much of vain curiosity prompted me, in my Youth,



to trifle away many precious hours in reading many old Romances, which a mallow'd Judgment cannot but find extreamly ridiculous; yet now in my old Age, I must declare, which no doubt will appear a great Paradox in the Eyes of many, That I judge the Author, of the absurdest of them all, to have had a truer Idea of the Generosity of his Phantastick Hero, than any Notion I find in *Homer* of his imaginary Champion: for the most of them make their principal Knight Errant, to Encounter a Gyant of extraordinary Strength and Stature, Courage and Conduct, and all for the greater glory of their Hero, who infallibly must kill the Gyant, and rescue the Lady: but to imagin, that the greatest Champion among the *Trojans*, like a timorous Suppliant, begg'd his Life again and again, of *Achilles*; and fled when his Suit was not granted, and was Chas'd seven times about the Walls of *Troy*, the Citizens being in the mean time so hard Hearted, that they would not once open one of their many Gates to him; imports, such a want of Courage in *Hector*, and of his Peoples Respect to their Native Prince, as makes up the Protraiture of a very silly Man: And what Honour, I pray, could *Achilles* reap from such a Victory? especially, considering how dishonourably he prosecuted it, by dragging the dead Body after his Chariot to his own Tent, and selling it there, at a dear-rate, to an Heart-broken Father: who, by coming seasonably to his Enemies Station, prevented the eating of his Son's Heart, as that piriless Conquerour threatned to do.

Altho'



Altho' by this brief Verdict, I have not taken my life in hand, it being neither Treason nor Heresie to speak freely of an old blind Poet, yet I doubt not but many will think I have taken my Reputation in my hand; *Homer* being so much admired by the Ancients, that sometimes they painted him disgorging his stomach, and all the other Poets (forsooth) standing about him, licking up his Vomit; and many Learned Moderns, with an implicit Faith, have sailed down the popular Stream, least the World should think them ignorants: for my part, *jacta est alea*, the mistake being very small, be it as it will. Yet I find the famous *Des Cartes* did not regard the vulgar Errors, when he had the confidence to attack him, who, for many Ages, was generally accounted the principal Secretary of Nature; tho' in my humble judgment, his Talent chiefly lay in his Logicks rather than his Physicks or Metaphysicks; Nay, tho' *Hippocrates* was elder, in time, than *Aristotle*, and to this day enjoys a more entire reputation, amongst all the Sons of *Æsculapius*, yet some of them have made bold to control divers of his plainest Aphorisms, and are confirmed therein by the experience of the World; especially that fatal prohibition of letting Blood of a Teeming Woman, no not from her Arm, in a violeut *Plurisie*; which Interdiction, for its great Authority, being comply'd with many Ages, as the most Judicious Master *Boyle* well observes, did cost the World more Lives, than all *Draco's* Laws, tho' said to be written with Human Blood. But enough of this digression, if not too much; *Quisq̃ue abundet suo sensu*.

It may be now expected, I should say something



thing of what is directly opposite to inhumane Cruelty, namely the vertue of *Clemency* or *Mercy*; which as it is the sweetest Attribute in God, so it must be reckon'd the greatest Ornament of his Vicegerent upon Earth: for that Prince is hated as a Tyrant, who delights in the Death of Malefactors, and takes pleasure to feed his Eyes with such Sanguinary Objects, tho' justly Sentenc'd to Death. *Nero* was highly magnify'd, as a most Compassionate Prince, for saying, when he was desir'd to sign a Dead Warrant, for the Execution of a Malefactor, *Utinam nescirem Literas*; as is before notic'd; but this good Humour lasted not longer than his laudable *Quinquennium*. *Theodosius* the Younger, on the same account, was highly prais'd, for wishing, *He might retrieve all those from the Grave, whom he had already Sentenc'd to Death*. And the Famous *Pericles*, who Rul'd *Athens* 40 Years, glory'd more, when he was a Dying, *That he had never occasion'd any Athenian to wear a Mourning Gown*, than in the great Victories he obtain'd over the Enemies of the State, when he was their General; tho' *Plutarch* testifies, in the History of his Life, That there were nine notable Trophies extant, of so many great Defeats he had given the Adversaries of *Athens*.

But *Julius Caesar* did so far exceed all Pagan Princes in Clemency, that it was reckon'd neither Hyperbole, nor Flattery, when *Cicero* told him, *That he could forget nothing but Injuries*; as is to be seen in his most Eloquent Oration *pro Ligario*: So that I cannot forget to tax both *Dion* the Historian, and *Lucan* the Poet, for injuring the Memory of the great *Caesar*, by insinuating, That when the Head of *Pompey*



*the Great* was presented to him, they were but *Crocodelian Tears* which he shed, viz. *Tears of Joy, and not of Grief*; but any unbiass'd Person, may easily find them maliciously Calumnious, not only by considering what is just now written, but also that such a *thinking Person*, upon the first view of so ruthless a Spectacle, could not fail to make a deep Reflection on the Vanity of worldly Greatness, and the intimate Friendship, which for many Years had been betwixt him and his Son-in-law, and consequently, could not but be cordially griev'd for that great Misfortune: Tho' 'tis possible, the celebrated Sentence of the Old *Tragedian* might likewise have been truly apply'd to *Cæsar* in that Sympathetick Act; *Curæ leves Loquuntur, ingentes stupent*: Nay, we may the more easily be perswaded, that *Cæsar* was serious in Weeping for *Pompey*, when 'tis consider'd, that *Augustus* shed many Tears when he was inform'd, That *Mark Antony* had kill'd himself; for he was of a more Cruel Nature, at least, in his Youth, than ever his Grand-Uncle was suppos'd to be, whether Young or Old.

But since Holy Scripture tells us, That the Pillars of God's Throne are *Justice and Mercy*, the same ought to be the *Columns* of all *Earthly Gods*; for where these Royal Qualities are not blended together in a due Proportion, the deficiency makes either a Pitiful, or a Pitiless Prince. It was an usual Saying of *Theodorick* King of the *Goths*, before he became Tyrant, and much commended by the Excellent *Boethius Severinus*; That he, who is fear'd by many, must needs fear many: So on the contrary, he who is fear'd by none, will be



be lov'd by very few, except conniv'd at *Delinquents*: Nothing being more pernicious, than an over Merciful Prince; for an Act of too great Lenity towards one particular Subject, may become great Cruelty to a whole Nation: In the Time of the Emperour *Nerva*, it was an usual Saying, *That it was more difficult to live under a Prince, who bore with all, than one who bore with nothing*: Nor is excessive Mercy less prejudicial to People than Cruelty; as was observ'd by *Mariana*, *That the too great Lenity of Henry the IVth of Castile, made his Reign as Bloody, as that of King Peter was, by his Cruelty*. And tho' *Eusebius* magnifies *Constantine the Great*, (even after his Death) above all other Princes; yet he greatly blames him, not only for keeping Profligate and Avaritious Cormorants about his Court, but also for shewing Clemency to divers Malefactors, who were guilty of very many great Crimes: Tho' no Body commends a Surgeon for cutting off many Legs and Arms, yet no Body hates a Prince, for Punishing Malefactors, provided he do it with Reluctancy and Grief; for 'tis only Tyranny, when 'tis done through Passion, or Avarice, or a *Bulimia* after Blood: But to punish meerly for Example, or Amendment, or for Terror to others, is Mercy, no less than Justice.

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*The Conclusion.*

IT is now time to come to a Conclusion: All that remains to be done, is to give our Sentiments of such *Grandees* as made the



nighest approaches to the above-written Character: I say, the *nighest* approaches, for absolute Perfection in a Prince, or any Christian, is not to be expected on this side of Heaven: It being our greatest Perfection in this Life, said St. Austin, to be thoroughly sensible of our Imperfections: Nor is the Reader here to expect a particular Explicite Character of a Tyrant, for as *Rectum est norma sui & obliqui*, so he who is guilty of the greatest and most numerous Deviations from the straight Line of a Generous Prince, is undoubtedly the greatest Tyrant. The Turks have a Proverb, *That he is not a Tyrant, who is not Tyrant enough*: But without all peradventure, They who make a common Foot-ball of the Laws, and pretend to a Privilege of doing so, while they live, are directly *Antipodes* to a Generous Prince; I say, so long as they live; for 'tis certain, two good Kings, *viz. David* and *Asa*, oppress'd some of the People, yet they made not a Trade of it, but repented and amended before they dy'd: And tho' many tax'd the great *Justinian*, for saying *Legibus soluti Sumus*; yet he made some reparation, by subjoining, *Legibus tamen vivimus*.

The *Italians* have a Proverb concerning good and easy Natur'd Men, *That they are so good, as to be good for nothing*; which they apply, to simple Princes, who make no Figure in the World: And tho' it would seem a Paradox, to reduce such to the Category of Tyrants, yet it is too true, that they who are destitute of the Spirit of Government, do usually hatch, under the Wings of Authority, an *Hydra* of Tyrants, who most ignominiously Oppress their Fellow-Subjects, without hope



hope of Redress; having so monopoliz'd the Ear of the *Royal Cipher*, that no Access is to be had by the Oppress'd Subject to the Prince, but by their permission; and 'tis not likely, that such *State Minions*, will become so Unnatural as to accuse themselves: To which abuse of Authority, the Words of the Wise Man plainly allude, *The Prince that wanteth* Prov. 28.16 *Understanding, is also a great Oppressour*. Neither shall I here meddle with those Princes, Recorded in Holy Scripture, the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*; since we have an infallible Testimony concerning them: As to all the Kings of *Israel*, there is a *sad Blank*, tho' no doubt, some were worse than others; and few of the Kings of *Judah* were good in comparison of the bad; nay, such of 'em as were superlatively Wicked, came not short of the Idolatries and Immoralities of the worst of the Kings of *Israel*.

But I shall endeavour to set about the Task here propos'd, pursuant to the Method of the four great Monarchies, mention'd in the beginning of this Treatise.

I am not clear to admit any of the old *Assyrian* Monarchs in this List of *Generous Princes*, (no not when the two subsequent Dynasties after *Sardanapalus* are reckon'd upon) except *Arbaces the Median*, and the great *Nebuchadnezzar*; the most part of all the rest being either Tyrannical, or Luxurious: Nay, the putting *Nebuchadnezzar* in this Catalogue, is *ex Hypothesi*, that he became a sincere Convert after his *Lycanthropia*, as some do charitably imagine; for without all peradventure, he was a Prince of great Spirit, and did great Things; but greatly



Proud and overweening, and therefore *was driven among the Beasts till seven times passed over him*; not seven Years, but, which is more probable, seven Months; and when his Understanding return'd unto him, who knows, but that the Fountain of all Goodness, gave him Grace, in deep Humiliation, to comply with the Prophet *Daniel's* sound Advice, *in breaking off his Sins with Righteousness, and his Iniquities by shewing Mercy to the Poor*; and so continu'd all the Days of his Life; to which, if he had hearken'd seasonably, the World should have been destitute of one eminent Instance of Divine Justice upon one of its greatest Princes.

Dan. 4. 27.

Some imagine, that *Xenophon* in his *Cyropaedia*, hath not really told us what a Prince was, but what he should be, (as was hinted before) like the Commonwealth of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, *Sir Tho. Moor's Utopia*, or the *new Atlantis* of *Sir Fr. Bacon*; but if the one half of *Xenophon's* Account of the Grand *Cyrus* was true, he ought not to be excluded from our List: And to give my own impartial Sentiment, I am apt to believe the most part of it, because I find nothing in any History, that blackens his Reputation, except his Invasion of the *Massagets*; which I have Censur'd already. Nor do I find any of the *Persian* Dynastie deserving to be his Associate, unless it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, Son to *Xerxes*, a well Dispos'd and most Liberal Prince, \* who put on the Cape-stone on that great Work which *Cyrus* begun; for he was very favourable to God's Ancient People, and so Liberal to his own Indigent Subjects, that I suppose, what we are told, of his *Right-Hand, its being longer*

\* This being erroneously ascribed by some to *Darius Nothus*.



longer than his *Left*, is meant in a Moral, rather than a Physical Sence; as if he had comply'd with that of H. Scripture, *Let not thy Left Hand know what thy Right Hand doth*: And that he did thus *shake Hands* very bountifully with the Famous *Themistocles*, the *Persian's* great Enemy, is declar'd at length by *Plutarch* in the History of his Life, assigning this noble Act, (more truly) to the Son than the Father; suppose the Renown'd Historian *Thucydides*, had not asserted it.

As for the *Grecian* Monarchy, no doubt, if the great founder of it had been so happy as to have had as much *Ballast*, as *Sayl*, he would have merited a considerable place among the *Worthies*; or if he had continued as he begun: but his blasphemous *Vanity*, after he became such a *Votary* of *Bacchus*, produc'd so great a *Tympany* in him, that he could not be admitted within the gate of the *Temple of Vertue*, and consequently could not pass to the *Temple of Honour*. The most of his *Succeffours* had too much of his bad qualities (for we read of an *Antiochus Theos*, and a *Ptolomy Physcon*) but little or nothing of his good, excepting the first, of the *Seleucidae*; and the two, first in order, of the *Lagidae*: but *Antigonus Gonatas* merits the preference from them all; how generous he was to his greatest Enemy, is told already; his *Macedonians* were *Witnesses*, beyond exception, of his *Wise* and *Just* Government; but never Son manifested more filial Duty to a Father, than did this affectionate Prince to his natural Parent King *Demetrius*; offering to *Seleucus* (Son-in-Law to *Demetrius*) not only to become a Prisoner in his Father's stead, but also



to suffer any thing, providing his Father was releas'd : and when he was inform'd of his Death, he gave such Passionate demonstrations of unfeign'd sorrow for it, that I must, for brevities sake, refer the Reader to *Plutarch's* large account of it, in the Life of King *Demetrius*.

We must divide the last great Monarchy, betwixt Pagan and Christian Princes ; I verily believe, never any Man was indued with more Courage, and Martial Conduct, with an extraordinary presence of Mind, in his greatest Dangers, than the Famous *Julius Caesar* ; yet his vast Ambition, manifested, both by his great Incroachments on the Liberties of the People, and his protestations, when he was young, *That he would choose rather to be the first of a paltry Village on the Alps. than second of Rome* : and by his weeping at *Cadiz* when he saw the Statue of *Alexander the Great*, because himself had done no great things at the age of that Conqueror ; but especially his having too much of the Blood of *Venus* in him all his days ; no doubt, these great Immoralities did cast too dark a shadow upon him : so that when the *Romans*, in After-ages, made their Acclamations and Apprecations to a new elected Emperor, they still pass'd by *Julius*, and wish'd him, The Happiness of *Augustus*, the Affability of *Titus*, the goodness of *Trajan*, the Piety of *Antoninus*, and the Clemency of *Marcus Aurelius* : And I'm confident, if the Legislator *Solon* had liv'd in his time, he would have apply'd to the Famous *Caesar*, what he said to *Pisistratus*, who usurped upon the *Athenian* Laws and Liberties, *That whose could pluck out of his head*



head the *Worm of Ambition*, whereby he aspir'd to be the chiefest, and could heal him of his greedy desire to Rule, there could not be a Man of more Vertue, nor a better Citizen than he would prove. Yet notwithstanding of *Cæsar's* Ambirion, he was far from the Vanity of *Alexander the Great*, in desiring the *Persian* Adorations; for in the greatest instance of his Pride that way, he was abus'd by his pretended Friend *Cornelius Balbus*, who, either as a flatterer or secret Enemy, hinder'd him from rising to the Senators, when they came to him in the Market place to tell him what great Honours the Senate had voted for him.

But *Marcus Aurelius*, a genuin Philosopher, did, almost infinitely, excel all the rest, as to the goodness of his Morals; neither do I read of any defect charg'd upon him, except his too meek connivance at the Immodesty of his Wife; for when his Friends often pressed him to repudiate such an incorrigible Strumpet; his usual answer was, *That if he did so, he behoved to restore the Dowry*, meaning the Roman Empire; wherein, I suppose, he was much mistaken, for 'tis unaccountable, that her Father *Antoninus Pius*, who Adopted him to be his Son and Successour in the Roman Empire, or the Emperour *Adrian*, who order'd that adoptive Father to do so, did ever mean, that this affinity (for the greater confirmation of their Amity) laid a constant obligation on the Husband to be a *Wittal*, and such a contented Cukold, as to retain an insatiable Whore in his Bed, one that differ'd very little from the infamous *Messalina*; and if Fame bely'd her not, a Gladiator was the true Father of her Son, as is before observ'd.

So



So that notwithstanding of this *excess of Patience*, which *Marcus Aurelius*, in his excellent Book, labours to justify; I am apt to believe, he wanted nothing to make him a *Glorious Prince*, both on Earth and in Heaven but the saving Knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Yea the Love of Truth and Goodness, in whomsoever they are found, prompts me also to pass the same judgment on other three Infidel Princes, if all was true that is recorded of them to their advantage; viz. 1. *Alam* for the great *Saracen Caliph*, whose admirable Life was well penn'd by Sir *W. Raleigh* as he says, from two *Arabian Manuscripts*. 2. *Saladin* the *Turkish Caliph* or King of *Ægypt*, to whom both Christians and Pagans give a noble Testimony. And 3. *Abdelmelech*, *Xeriff* of *Morocco*, whose Character (as before represented) renders him one of the greatest Heroes in the World: I know, 'tis objected by some that he was a prosperous Usurper, having by the assistance of the *Turks* chac'd away that *Mahomet*, who implor'd the aid of the King of *Portugal* for his restitution: but these have not taken the whole Story with them; for *Abdelmelech* did only prosecute his Father's Last Will, who ordain'd all his Sons, tho' they were Ten in number, to reign successively; but the eldest, (Father to the said *Mahomet*) destroy'd them all, except one *Hamet*, whom he spar'd for his simplicity, and this *Abdelmelech*, who made his escape to *Selimus* the Ild. by whose help he expell'd his Nephew as an Intruder, and had good reason to do so: for that custome of the *Survivance* was introduc'd by his Grand-father,

the



the famous *Mahomet* King of *Sus*, who by the influence of *Mars* and *Minerva*, had Conquer'd both *Fez* and *Morocco*.

As for Christian Princes, no doubt *Eusebius* would have given the first place to *Constantin the Great*, because the first Christian Emperour, (besides many other Reasons;) for he justly accounted the Christianity of his Predecessour *Philip*, a meer *Romance*: yet by the Authority of that great Prelate *St. Ambrose*, I rather give the prehemince to *Theodosius the Great*, for in an Epistle directed by *St. Ambrose* to the said Emperour, he praiseth God for setting a Prince upon the Throne, who surpassed the greatest Princes, in Glory; and the holiest Bishops, in Humility; *What can be wished for? What can be desired more?* (said *St. Ambrose* to him) *you possess all Vertues, you are a Prince of singular Piety and Clemency, &c.* There was nothing of Flattery in all this, for they who are acquainted with the Life of that great Bishop of *Milan*, as it is recorded by very many, will perceive him infinitely removed from that base Vice: Nay, it may be justly contested, whether the Humility of *Theodosius*, when he was Excommunicated by *St. Ambrose*, for imbruing his hands in the Blood of many Thousand *Thessalonians*; or the holy Boldness of that most impartial Prelate, was most to be admired: sure I am, there are many *Roys d' jvidot*, in this most degenerate Age, who would deem it far below them to stoop to such a Low Pennance, for any Crime, or Authority wharsoever, as to lye prostrate on the Pavement of the Church, to water it with abundance of Penitential Tears, and to cry out with King *David*, *My*  
*soul*



*soul cleaveth to the dust, Lord quicken me according to thy word*; and finally to be so self-deny'd as to acknowledge solemnly, That he knew no Bishop but *Ambrose*, and that before *Nectarius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, reckon'd by all, a very good Man; yet not so Learned nor so full of the Spirit of his Calling, as was the other.

As far the rest of the Christian Emperours, they are but *thin Sown* in this Field of Generosity: because some were deficient in their Intellectuals, and others destitute of those Morals, without which a truly *Generous Prince* cannot be found: Yet we must not forget *Tiberius* the Ild, an Emperour indued with all Royal Qualities; and so Religious, that I believe, never any Prince exceeded him in a charitable disposition towards indigent Creatures, nor was more wonderfully supply'd by Divine Providence; for when his Treasurer told him, he had already exhausted his Exchequer, with Works of Liberality, he answer'd in the Words of *Abraham*, *Dominus providebit*; which provision was not long a coming; for the very next day, walking in his utter Court, he perceived a Stone in the Pavement with the Sign of the Cross upon it, and judging it a dishonour to the Emblem of our Saviour's Passion, to be commonly trod upon, he order'd it to be remov'd; under which, a second and third were found, with Croffes upon 'emall; which being taken up, a vast Treasure was found, which serv'd some time to be fuel to that Holy Flame; and before that expir'd, another great Treasure was found under-ground, belonging, as was said, to the famous *Narfes*: so that I do not read of any Christian Prince, that may be



be properly accounted his Parallel for Alms-deeds, unless it was that devout King of *Northumberland*, named *Oswald*, if all be true that *S. Aidanus*, and *Venerable Bede* report of his wonderful Charity.

Let us now Veer to the West, where we find *Charlemain* the founder of a new Western Empire, and infinitely deserv'd that Title; for *Aventin*, in his *Annals*, tells us, *he never became insolent in his greatest Prosperity, nor, in the least, dejected in his greatest adversity*: a Character or Test whereby a *Generous Prince*, may be known! I do not approve his Zeal for continuing a Bloody War with the *Saxons*, for 30 Years, to constrain that Idolatrous Nation to imbrace the Christian Faith; yet I cannot condemn his partying the Christians of *Frizland* against their Apostate Prince, who most inhumanely, persecuted them, because they would not relapse to their former Idolatry, as he himself had done: but in short, he was an Eminent Son both of *Mars* and *Minerva*: as for his Son and immediate Successour *Lewis* the I. he was deservedly termed *Pious*, for his great Devotion, but was so Simple and Uxorious to his second Wife *Judith*, that he ought not to be put into the List of Hero's; especially considering, that he foolishly followed the footsteps of *Constantine the Great*, in dividing that great Empire, which had cost his Father much Sweat and Blood, among his Sons; whereby the ruin of the *Carolovingian* Race speedily followed: But to take leave of Emperours, among all who have been stil'd Emperours of *Germany*, *Maximilian* the II. for his Intellectuals and Morals in Conjunction, most justly claims the Title of  
Generous



*Generous Prince*; considered absolutely on each side respectively, but I forbear to make comparisons, because they are odious, and I hasten to the Kings in *Europe*.

Yet since the Grand Seigniors from their subduing of *Constantinople*, have been accounted Emperours, 'tis fit to speake a little of them, in regard they are supposed, by some Judicious interpreters, to be that *little Horn* (as they were at first) mentioned by the Prophet *Daniel*, which plucked up by the Roots *three Horns*, viz. the Empire of *Constantinople*, that of *Trebisond*, and the Sultany of *Ægypt*: But of the *Ottoman Race* I have already given this Verdict, that *Solyman* the Magnificent, both for Gallantry and Veracity, was the most Generous of them all: Yet the *Hungarians* branded him with perfidy, in reference to their infant King; because, under pretence of protecting him from the House of *Austria*, he seisd upon the *Metropolis Buda*, and the best part of the Kingdom for himself: as *Ferdinand the Catholick* did before him, in grasping the Kingdom of *Naples*, under Colour of preserving the greatest Cadet of the House of *Arragon*, from the inchroachments of the *French*.

This mention of the *Turks* minds me of the greatest Christian Champions against them; these were the famous *Scanderbeg*, King of *Epirus* and *Albania*; with *Hunniades*, Prince, or Vayvod of *Transilvania*; which two notable Ramparts of the Christian Territories were not only Contemporarie, but deserv'd to have Headed the greatest Monarchies in this inferior World: Likewise *Matthias Corvinus*, Son to the famous *Hunniades*, and King of *Hungary*



ry, was a very great Soul ; neither find I any other, in the Catalogue of these *Hungarian* Princes, that merits a place in this List, unless it was Saint *Ladislaus*, for tho' *real Saints* ought not to be ador'd by any, yet they should be Honoured by all: there was also an *Hungarian* Prince, in the preceeding Age, who might justly have been term'd *the Sword and Buckler of Hungary*, as *Marcellus* and *Fabius* were of *Rome*; namely, the Brave Count *Serini*; but to the great detriment of all *Europe*, a wild Boar gave him his mortal Wound; or, as some Historians say, his untimely Death was contriv'd by a most Cruel and bloody Sect, the Jesuits. *Sigismond*, another Prince of *Transilvania*, of the Noble Family of the *Battori*, was not only Caress'd by the Pope, tho' a Protestant, but also, for a time, much admir'd by all *Europe*, because such a Powerful Monarch as the great *Turk*, had been so Vigorously and Victoriously Attack'd by such a little Principality; yet in regard he was found to be but *præcox fructus*; nay, a most inconstant and facil Soul, and dy'd ingloriously and unlamented, he deserves no place in this Honourable List.

The Kingdom of *France* is, no doubt, the strongest and most compact of any in *Europe*, tho' not of the largest Dimensions: The greatest of its Kings, and best deserving the Title of *Most Christian*, was *Charles the Great*, excelling, by many Stages, the present *Lewis Le Grand*, even in Puissance, for all the addition of the Crown of *Spain*; but almost infinitely transcending him, in Intellectual and Moral Perfections: of this great Man I have discoursed sufficiently already, and of each of his  
Posterity



Posterity, it may be truly said, *quantum mutatus ab illo* : for they soon became despicable in the Eyes of their own Subjects, and as P. Heylen, well observes, *Lewis the Stammering, Charles the Bald, the Gross, and the Simple*, would have found better Epithets, if they had deserv'd them ; for they became too like the *Merovingian* Family, in their worst Days : of all which Royal Race, I Judge their first Christian King, *Clodoveus*, or *Clovis*, to have been the best, both for Religion and Arms. As as for the *Capetian* Race which succeeded the *Carolingian*, *Lewis* the IXth, deservedly furnam'd *the Saint*, unquestionably, merits the prehemineny from them all ; a very Religious Prince and most Zealous for the Christian Faith ! tho' unsuccessful, in the most of his Attempts, against the *Saracenes*. No doubt, there have been divers Martial Princes, both before and after him, in such a long-lasting Dynastie ; but their Morals and intellectuals not holding pace together, or, as was said of the famous *Alcibiades*, they made great Vices meet with their great Virtues, and therefore deserve no place in this *Royal Society* ; excepting *Lewis* the XIIth, and that chiefly, because he was *the poor Man's King*.

As for the Kingdom of *Spain*, or that great Continent which of old comprehended 12 Kingdoms, and many more when the *Moors* possess'd it ; it hath not afforded many Worthy Competitors for the Title of *Generous Prince* : I find one among the *Gothish* Kings, who deserv'd it for his great Piety ; namely, *Reccaredus* the Ist, the first among them, who renounc'd *Arianism*, and embrac'd the Catholick Orthodox Doctrine, and for this



this cause was first Honour'd with the Title of *The most Catholick King*, whose Zeal was the more to be admir'd, since he was Son to *Leonigild*, who most Unnaturally put his Eldest Son *Herminigildus* to Death, because he would not become *Arian*. I think it strange, that *D. Diego Savedra Faxardo* should inveigh so much against *Macchiavel* for pitching upon *Cæsar Borgia* as his Prince (for which Censure no good Christian can condemn him) and yet propose *Ferdinand the Catholick* to the last King of *Spain*, as the best Pattern for his imitation; for it seems, he consider'd not, that *Borgia* and *Ferdinand* symboliz'd too well in Activity, Subtilty and Perfidiousness: But 'tis observable, that this *Long-nam'd Author* was more *Lawyer* than *Divine*; and that even Learned Men may grossly err, when they step out of their own Element; as we may perceive from his misunderstanding and misapplying many Passages of Holy Scripture; like the *Scots Lord Marcheston* in his wild Glosses upon the *Revelations*; tho' otherways a great *Mathematician*, and Famous through *Europe* for his *Logarithms*.

*Faxardo* was also mistaken in giving the second place, among the *Castilian Worthies*, to *Alphonso* Surnam'd *the Wise*; but *Mariana* judg'd more Prudently, in saying, *He was more Knowing, than Wise*: And tho' he pretended to be a great Astronomer, the Famous *Tabula Alphonsine* being denominated from him; yet, I am sure, he was ill acquainted with the true *Idea* of the Divine Nature, otherways, he would never have stumbled on that Horrid Expression, *That if he had been at God's Elbow when the World was made, he*

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(forsooth)



(forsooth) would have suggested a much better method for that *Fabrick*: After the uttering of which Blasphemous Sentiment, it was observ'd by divers Historians, that he prosper'd not an Hour, and might easily have read his Sin in his Judgment, without the help of a Telescope to observe the Stars; for his second Son, was noted by all *Europe* to Reverence, as little, his Parent upon Earth, as he had rever'd his Heavenly Father. But there was another *Alphonso*, the fifth of *Arragon*, and the first King of that Race, who enjoy'd the Kingdom of *Naples*; who for an excellent Conjunction of Intellectuals and Morals, merited the Preheminence from all the *Ferdinands* and *Alphonso's*, *Sancob's* and *Garcias*, *Philips* and *Charles's*, that ever were in *Spain*; if we believe *Æneas Sylvius*, and many other Credible Historians of that Age.

I shall dispatch the remaining Parcels of the Continent of *Europe* in few Words. Among all the *Polonian* Kings, I judge *Stephen Batori*, formerly Prince of *Transilvania*, to have been the most Active; nay, of so great Courage and Martial Conduct, that he held a high Hand over the greatest Tyrant in the Age (if we believe the *Polonian* Writers) and so Cow'd the Ambitious and Restless Spirit of *Johannes Basilides*, the *Russian* Emperour, that he was glad to renounce his Interest in all *Livonia*, to enjoy Peace at home: Yet the People of *Leifland* complain'd, That this Victorious Prince of *Poland* was too much influenc'd by Jesuitical Councils, which are, too frequently, both Violent and Sanguinary. Of the present Czar of *Musco*, and his great Rival the King of *Sweden*, I have given my opinion  
al.



already. Neither ought we to forget the founder of the present Royal Family of Sweden, I mean, *Gustavus Eriscon*, who did really undergo as many strange Adventures, as *Homer* feign'd, of his *Ulysses*; so that I would be very clear to reckon him the greatest *Hero* of his Age, had he kept his Hands clean from the Patrimony of the Church: The wonderful Exploits of his Successour *Gustavus Adolphus* are well known, and so universally acknowledg'd, that Pope *Urban* the VIIIth, whenever he was inform'd of the great Victories he obtain'd with such disproportionable Forces, to those of *Ferdinand* the IIId, he still magnify'd him as an Heroick Prince: Yet I have heard some of his old Officers (who were not of *Swedish* Blood) regrate, that not long before his untimely Death, he became more Supercilious than at first, verifying that Sage Observation of the Heathen Poet,

*Nescia mens Hominum fati, sortisque futura,*

*Et servare modum rebus sublata secundis.*

As for the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*, in my weak Judgment, there was a Female, preferable to all the Royal Males of both these little Kingdoms, the Famous *Margaret*, Queen of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and also of *Sweden*; so Gallant and Magnanimous a Lady, that she was usually term'd the *Semiramis* of the North, as if there had been a *Metempsychosis* of the Martial Spirit of that great *Assyrian* Queen into her Body; which *Masculine Heroina*, I account one of the greatest Female Spirits that ever Liv'd, and judge those *Greek* Historians extreamly Calumnious, who have endeavour'd so to fully her Fame, as if the greatest Vi-



rago in the World had been the most Effeminate Person in the Universe.

Let us now, as our *Labor extremus*, cross the Sea to great *Britain*. In *England*, as distinct from *Scotland*, there were four remarkable Dynasties, or Royal Races, which sway'd its Scepter many Ages, before the Union of the two Kingdoms, viz. the *British*, the *Saxon*, the *Danish*, and the *Norman*: Among all of the first Line, whither before or after the *Roman Conquest*, Prince *Arthur* was judged most eminent for all Heroick Vertues; having by the general Verdict of the Knowing World, obtain'd a place among its *Nine Worthies*: And if the 3d part of what the Monks and Legionaries have writ of him, was true; he hath undoubtedly been the greatest Hero of his time: But such is the unhappiness of too Hyperbolick *Panegyricks* (*Geofry of Monmouth* having been Hyperbolically Hyperbolick in praise of that Famous Prince) that by fathering many ridiculous and impossible Actions upon him, many Sober Persons are inclin'd to look upon those *Feats of Chivalry*, said to be perform'd by him, and his *Knights of the Round-Table*, as if they had been nothing else but fabulous *Knights Errant*, like to *Amadis de Gaul*, or the *Knight of the Sun*, or at best, like the Narratives of Bishop *Turpin* concerning *Charlemain* with his twelve Peers of *France*.

Among all the *Saxon* Kings, during the *Heptarchy*, or after it, I look upon the Renown'd *Alfred*, as a Prince of the most perfect Vertue; and as he was almost Contemporary with *Charles the Great*, so he was nothing inferiour to him in solid Vertue, greater extent



extent of Dominion being meerly accidental; but in assiduous Administration of Justice, he was much his Superiour; and I'm afraid, few Princes in the World could justly Contest it with him; of which his admirable Justice, with his great Piety towards God, I have already given a large Account: He was also Learned, and a great Padrone of the Muses, having Erected an University at *Oxford* (in imitation of *Charlemain* at *Paris* and *Bononia*) and fill'd it with the most Learned Men he could find; at least, he greatly Repair'd and Restor'd it; for some think, it was Founded before his time: Nay, he was no less the Son of *Mars*, than of *Minerva*; for he totally United the *Saxon* Heptarchy into one Estate, and Vanquish'd the *Danes*, who had been Turbulent before his time, and became so again after his Death: And finally, as an Evidence of his Wise Politicks, he it was, who first divided *England* into Shires. So that finding him tax'd with no Vice, and so eminent in many Vertues, he certainly deserves an high Station in this Theatre of Glory.

The third, was the *Danish* Dynasty, which Rul'd over *England* only 26 Years; tho' the *Danes* and *Norwegians* had miserably hara's'd that Kingdom, almost ten times longer: The first of these Kings was *Canutus*, not only King of *England*, but also of *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Sweden*; he was indeed more temperate and moderate in his Passions than his Father *Sueno*, and apparently so Just, that he put to Death that *English* Nobleman, who basely Murder'd the Gallant Prince, *Edmund Ironside* in hopes to obtain a great Reward



from *Canutus*, as being no longer Partner, but full Possessor of the Crown of *England*. He also gave a notable Confutation of the ridiculous Flattery of one of his Parasites, who fondly alleadg'd, *That Man and Beast, and all the Elements were ready to obey him*: Whereupon, the King caus'd set his Throne at the Sea-side, when it begun to flow, and Commanded it, under the pain of High-Treason, to approach no further; but when he was almost overflow'd with the Billows, he told the Sycophant, *The Elements were subordinate only to the Divine Authority, and that they no more regarded the Command of the greatest King upon Earth, than the Voice of the poorest Beggar*: And from that Day, he never wore a Crown: The consideration of all which, once inclin'd me to put him in the List of *Generous Princes*, (for his Gallantry was never doubted) till I reflected on that most Inhumane Order, given by him to the Governour of *Sweden*, privately to cut off all the Innocent Children of *Edmond Ironside*, lest they should think upon their Father's Crown, when they came to Age; his Confident had as Compassionate a Nature, as the respective Trustees, who were order'd to put *Cyrus*, *Romulus* and *Remus* to Death, when they were very Young; but no thanks to him, who gave such a Savage Commission: For such Barbarians deserve not to be reckon'd among Christians; far less admitted into the List of *Generous Princes*.

The *Saxon* Blood was again elevated to the *English* Throne in the Person of *Edward the Confessor*, Younger Brother to *Edmond Ironside*; of whose Title to the Crown, and how far it might have been justify'd, I have Discours'd



cours'd already : But 'tis most certain, from all Historians, who Treat of him, that he was generally reputed a very holy Prince, being both Just and Merciful ; nay, some report, That he was such a Favourite of Heaven, as to receive Power, from Above, to Cure with a Touch, the *Struma*, or *King's-Evil* ; and that the Faculty was from him deriv'd to all his Successors : Which, if true, makes the *Prerogative of the Kings of England*, of an earlier Date, by three Ages at least, than that, which the *French* say, was bestow'd on their *St. Lewis*. Yet, I suppose, he was justly blam'd for using too great Severity towards his Mother *Queen Emm*, in causing her to undergo the *Ordelian* Tryal, for some finistrous Reports that had pass'd upon her ; for without violent Presumptions, great regard should be had to the Reputation of all Ladies, especially to the Honour of so great a Lady, who had been Wife to two Kings, and Mother to as many, and Daughter to the Great Duke of *Normandy*. Thus *Sancho*, the 4th King of *Navarre*, entituled *Sancho the Great*, was greatly blam'd for permitting his Eldest Son most Unnaturally to Accuse his Innocent Mother of the Crime of Adultery ; as is told at length by *Mariana*. But since *Edward the Confessor* was Canoniz'd for a Saint after his Death, we cannot exclude him from this Holy Society.

As for the *Norman* Race, which continues to this Day ; I believe, *Henry the Vth*, was the most Heroick Prince in his Age, or many Ages before or after him ; nor could the King of *France*, the Greatest Monarch in *Europe* at that time, justly enter into Competition with him, even when he was *compos mentis* : In



short, he was the *Deliciæ humani Generis*, during the short time of his Reign, as was said of *Titus Vespasian*; with whom he exactly Symboliz'd in several Respects; 1st in the Licentiousness of their Youth, before their respective Exaltations; for (if we believe *Suetonius*) *Titus* was dreaded by the People of *Rome* as another *Caligula* for Voluptuousness, and a *Nero* for his Cruelty; so *Henry* was deem'd a very Profligate Youth, for Drinking, Whoring and Robbery, and for affronting Authority in the Person of the Lord Chief Justice, when sitting on the Bench: 2d, In respect of their sudden Change to the better, for as soon as *Vespasian* Dy'd, *Titus* Banish'd *Berenice*, Sister to young *Agrippa*, and all his other suppos'd Paramours; likewise *Henry*, the very Day of his Father's Death, turn'd his Back for ever on Sir *John Falstaff*, and all his other Riotous Companions, and hugg'd the Lord Chief Justice for knowing and performing his Dury: So in few Days both of them became the Darlings of their respective People, in regard of their admirable Affability and Liberality, not to speak of their Prudence and Gallantry; and to the short Reigns of both, that of the Poet concerning Young *Marcellus*, might have been apply'd,

*Hunc tantum terris ostendent fata, nec  
ultra Esse sinunt.*

Yet in this they differ'd, That a Villanous Brother, I mean, that Inhumane Tyrant *Domitian*, was strongly suspected to have had an Hand in the untimely Death of *Titus*; whereas none did ever imagine, that the  
Brave



Brave Duke of *Bedford*, or the good Duke of *Glocester* could possibly have entertain'd such Unnatural Thoughts, suppose the Elder Brother had never been bless'd with Issue of his own Body. There is one particular Resemblance I had almost forgot, *Titus* was never charg'd with any Immorality, after the Commencement of his Government; but at the Hour of Death he accus'd himself of one Act of Injustice, he was guilty of, but the World is yet ignorant what the nature of it was: And as for *Henry*, I find him blam'd by the *Scots* Historiographers, for approving by his Practice, the Injustice of his Father, *Henry* the IVth, who against the Law of Nature and Nations, had Captivated a very young Prince, King *James* the Ist of *Scotland*, and was yet detain'd Prisoner by the Son, and the Son's Son; till a great Ransom was pay'd for him: I shall only add the Apology which some Statesmen make for Acts of this Nature, viz. *That tho' some good Princes would not be the original Authors of some Tyrannical Laws, yet finding them settled to their hand, they can connive at them for a time, for some apparent worldly Interest*: Thus the *Lacedaemonians* set a great price on the Head of *Phæbidas*, for Surprizing the *Theban* Citadel, call'd *Cadmea*, in time of Peace, yet they still kept that Castle in their own Hand with a strong Garrison; which, as *Plutarch* observes, was wonder'd at by the other Cities of *Greece*, That they should allow the Fact, who had punish'd the doers of it.

We are next to bring upon the Stage a Female Sovereign, the Famous Queen *Elisabeth*, one that most justly claims an Interest  
in



in the Honourable List of *Generous Princes*: It is observable, that since the Days of *William the Conquerour* unto her Time, only three of her Sex had a solid Title to Reign, (tho' the miserable Queen *Margaret*, and many others Usurp'd on the Simplicity of too uxorious Husbands) *Mathildas* or *Maud* the Empress had very few quiet Hours, after the Death of her Father, *Henry the 1st*; the Usurper *Stephen*, having with-held her from the peaceable Possession of the *English* Throne, all the Days of his Life: As for Queen *Mary*, she was unworthy to be nam'd the same Day, with this her youngest Sister, *Elisabeth*; a Princess indu'd, in an extraordinary measure, with many Princely Vertues, Moral and Intellectual! And whosoever desires to see a List of her Perfections, may read the History of her Life, penn'd by the Judicious *Cambden*; neither is there any *English* Historian, who comes that Length, but Writes greatly to her Advantage, as one, who knew and practis'd the true Art of Government: Nay, all the Historiographers of that Age, concur in her Commendation, except the Popish Faction, especially the *Spaniards*; and such who could never digest the Death of Queen *Mary of Scotland*, for all the Excuses that have been made for it.

Who could imagine, that a Pope, and as fit a Judge of such Matters, as any in his time, should have magnify'd Queen *Elisabeth* as an Excellent Princess? yet 'tis certain, Pope *Sixtus Quintus* frequently declar'd, *That no Prince on Earth understood the true Art of Government so well as Henry the IVth of France, and Queen Elisabeth of England*: Yet it may be easily



easily imagin'd, that according to the Papal Jargon, he still regrated they should remain *incorrigible Hereticks*; for *Henry* had not made that *Simulate Apostacy* in his time: For my part, I scruple not to term our *Elisabeth*, for her greater Honour, *the Western Semiramis*; but if any are prepossess'd with these vile Aspersions some *Greeks* have thrown upon her, I hope they find no exception against that *Famous Princess of Palmyrene*; so that without Prejudice, we may confidently call her *the Western Zenobia*, who was never taxed with Immodesty, but greatly magnify'd for Chastity; and with her Husband *Oedenatus* repair'd the Honour of the *Romans* on that Insolent *Persian King Saporess*, who had made their Emperour *Valerian* his Footstool, even then, when his Son *Galienus* sat still, as if he had been no ways concern'd in that Ignominious Affront.

Thus when that *Spanish Leviathan* thought to have swallow'd *England* with his *Invincible Armada*, (as his Parasites term'd that great Fleet) that truly Masculine Princess was found at the Head of her Gallant Land-Army, as a Daughter of *Mars*, by her Countenance and notable Orations, animating the most timorous of her Subjects to fight Manfully, *Pro aris & focis*, if Divine Providence should permit their Proud and Cruel Enemies to Land among 'em: but there was a vast difference betwixt the Exits of those Princesses; for *Zenobia* was at last overpower'd by the Emperour *Aurelianus*, and brought in Triumph to *Rome*; which Disaster did no whit abate the greatness of her Spirit: for as she never was Insolent in Prosperity, so she never was Dejected



jected in Adversity; on which account, *Trebellius Pollio*, a Roman Historian, observes, That the Terror of her Name, and unusualness of the sight had so highten'd the general Expectation; *ut eâ Specie nihil unquam esset Pompabilius*: But tho' *Philip* the II<sup>d</sup>. of *Spain* design'd also to have led the Queen of *England* in Triumph through the Streets of *Madrid*, and then made her Prisoner in the new Built *Escorial*; yet he was so far disappointed of his hopes, (after God and Man, and all the Elements had discover'd the Vanity of his *Armada*) that I am fully persuaded, the said Queen, by her mighty Fleets, whereby she Commanded the Ocean all her Days, and by the seasonable and effectual Assistance she afforded the Protestants, both in *France* and the *Netherlands*, did contribute more to the weakning and humbling of that once *Formidable Monarchy*, than all the Efforts of the *French* since the *Æra* of that *Æquivocal Holy-League*, to this very Day.

I am not Ignorant that some *Romanists* who are much in the Interests of *Spain*, upbraided Queen *Elizabeth* with ingratitude towards the said *Philip*, because, say they, he preserv'd her Life when her own Sister had doom'd her to Death, and was so inamour'd of her Person that he was desirous to Marry her, after Queen *Mary* Dy'd; so that she render'd evil for good, and return'd Hatred for his Love: but this is easily answer'd, even when all that is alleadg'd, is granted to be true, for I Judge it is very probable, that Queen *Mary* was ready to take away her own Sister's Life, under pretence of a Conspiracy or Misprison of Treason; but in reality, because of her persuasi-  
on



on in matters of Religion: for that *furious Queen* was so devoted to the *Roman Church*, that, as another *Mathildis*, she was ready to Sacrifice both her Nature and Soul for its standing; well knowing, that if the great *Roman Idol* should fall to the ground, the whole World would look upon her as a Bastard. But who knows not, that King *Philip* was as Bigot in his *Superstition* as ever *Queen Mary* was? for there are many Lyars in the World, if it was not upon the same account that he permitted the Inquisition to put his Eldest Son *Don Carlo* to Death; (for these Sanguinary Fathers would not have concern'd themselves with his matters of Jealousie :) which seems to be confirmed by that *Blasphemous Allusion* of the Pope, when he heard of that unnatural Act, *He spared not his own Son, but freely gave him up for us all.*

So that the Preservation of the Princess *Elizabeth*, by the Intercession of King *Philip* when she was Prisoner in the Tower, was not owing to Christian Charity, but meer *Carnal Policy*: he knew, her Sister was Old and Sickly, and that neither a *Mole* nor a *Tympany* could Sway a Scepter, and that if *Elizabeth* had been made out of the way, before the Death of her Sister, the Crown would have fallen, by Law, to *Queen Mary* of *Scotland*, when the other *Mary* had dy'd, which would have made a great accession of Power to his great Rival the King of *France*, since the *Scottish Queen* was betroth'd to the *Dolphin*, and being by her *Maternal Blood*, of the House of *Guise*, she would be found an entire dependenter on that great Family. The same reason may also be given for that design'd Marriage after  
the



the Death of Queen *Mary*, for that Sagacious Prince easily foresaw, that one of the Sons of *France* would become *Suter* to Q. *Elizabeth*, which was afterwards verify'd by the Duke of *Anjou*, with importunity enough, tho' without success: But as for that *Heteroclet Marriage* with Queen *Elizabeth*, which was really propos'd by K. *Philip*, if both Parties had been willing, he made not the least doubt of the Pope's willingness to dispense with his Marrying of two Sisters, since he was accounted the greatest *Padrone* of the *Roman Church* in the whole *Christian World*, thus that proud Prelate P. *Paul* the 4th (who would never hear of a General Council) told his Cardinal when he was a dying, That the firmest support of their Church upon Earth, was to be expected from that Zealous King of *Spain*, and the Holy Inquisition: the same being the Sentiments of the most *Bigot Orders* of that Church, all the Days of King *Philip* the 11d, for even the *Jesuits*, at that time, had little regard to the most *Christian King*, in comparison of the most *Catholick*; but since there was an apparent diminution of the Grandeur of *Spain*, the case is much altered, for the Disciples of *Ignatius* are such *Politicians*, that they will be sure to hold always with him, who hath the Collop on the Coal,

Let us next step into *Scotland*, the other Kingdom of *Great Brittain*; whose Chroniclers recommend to our List *Kenneth* the 11d, who, like another *Camillus* to Rome, may be term'd the 3d founder of that Monarchy; He Expell'd the *Picts*, and that most justly, they having most Barbarously Assassinated his Father



ther, and withheld from him that Scepter which was due unto him by the Law of Nature and Nations. *Malcolm* the 3d surnam-  
ed *Canmore*, was also an excellent Prince,  
whose Devotion was much promoted by the  
Counsels and Example of that unparallel'd  
Lady, *St. Margaret* the Queen. But above  
all the *Scottish* Princes, nay, if we believe  
the *Scots Historians*, above all the Princes in  
the World, *K. David* the I. deservedly term-  
ed *St. David*, merited the preheminance; and  
I shall briefly give his unparallel'd Character in  
the words of one, who was never suspected  
as a flatterer to any Prince, Living or Dead,  
namely the famous *Buchanan*: *In all his Acti-  
ons, saith he, Private and Publick, he liv'd  
beyond all Censure, so as 'tis truly said of him,  
that the most Learned Wits who have gone a-  
bout to frame the Character of a good King,  
could never devise nor imagine such an one  
as he himself did express, in the whole Course  
of his Life*: Thus far that *Morose* Philoso-  
pher, and impartial Historian. Neither do I  
find, that any thing was ever laid to his  
Charge, as a defect, bnt rather an Excess  
of Piety and Charity, which I shall give  
in Words Father'd upon King *James* the  
first of Scotland, viz. *That he was a Dear  
Saint to the Crown*; meaning that he had  
greatly diminish'd the Royal Revenues, by e-  
recting many Bishopricks and Monasteries:  
but if we believe Arch-Bp. *Spotswood* (who  
pretends to writ it, *ex cera scientia*) an hun-  
dred and twenty Thousand Franks was the  
highest estimate of all *St. Davids* Donations,  
which was no great Gift in a Crown'd Head,  
even in a Kingdom that was never reputed  
wealthy. No



No doubt some Crabbed *Scots* will carp at my neglect of many of their Princes, whom they account great Hero's, without a long retrogradation either to *Fergus* the first or second, such as K. *James* the I. of *Scotland*, but especially K. *Robert* the Ist, surnamed the *Bruce*, renowned through all the civilized World for his Bravery : I shall therefore briefly mention some Exceptions in excuse for our silence, and have done with that little Kingdom. The said K. *James* was justly reputed the most knowing Prince of his Age, as all the *Scots* Historians testify, for as he had a long time to study, during the 18 Years of his Captivity, so he had an Epidemical genius for all the Muses so that some have affirm'd, he was bless'd with a *Cyclopædia* : yet he was thought to be *Nimis attentus ad rem*, and too severe, especially to the Earl of *March*; and to have hasten'd his own violent Death with great Imprudence ; for when the Queen came to him at the Siege of *Roxburgh* Castle, and told him, There was a Conspiracy against his Life, but knew not the Persons ; he should, upon the Head of his Army, have made enquiry after that Treasonable-Plot, that the Conspirators, with strong Hand, might have been brought to condign Punishment ; but immediately on that frightful Intelligence, by Disbanding his Army, and (as it were) hiding his Head in that *Carthusian* Convent at *Perth*, he gave that wretch'd Earl of *Arbol* and his Complices, a speedy occasion to hasten his Death.

As for King *Robert Bruce*, it may be truly said of him, That *Julius Caesar* himself, in his Circumstances, could not with more Courage and Martial Prudence, have recover'd

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an enthrall'd Kingdom, than the said King Robert did : for when he began his Attempt, he was furrounded with many powerful Adversaries in the Bowels of his own Country, especially the *Cummins*, at that time the most powerful Surname in *Scotland* ; but more dangerously Attack'd by a Mighty Neighbour Prince, who then had peaceable Possession of *Scotland* : Yea, suppose his own Nation had join'd both Heart and Hand for him ; yet 'tis certain they were still inferiour to the *English*, as to Wealth and Numbers of Men, and at that time had also a great Interest beyond Sea : But with an Handful of Men, in respect of the *English* Host, he gave them, (without stealing the Victory) the greatest Defeat, at *Bannockburn*, that ever they receiv'd from any Nation ; and maintain'd his Post most Gloriously all his Life : but whether Avarice was beginning to creep in upon his Old-age, I cannot tell ; yet one thing is certain, that not long before he dy'd, he committed a very Imprudent Act, which was also tax'd with great Ingratitude ; namely, the Calling for the *Charters* of all who held Lands of the Crown, and thar in Face of Parliament ; not considering, That in such Confus'd Times, many had lost their *Evidents*, who had lost neither Hearts nor Hands in serving him many Years in most dangerous Times : Whereupon (such are the *fervida Scotorum Ingenia*) the most part pull'd out their Swords, and told him, that these were the brightest *Charters* they could pretend to ; which gave the rise to a great Misunderstanding betwixt Prince and People : So that the next Parliament was commonly call'd *The Black Parliament*, in regard of ma-



ny Black Executions thereat. But I shall not any more dip my Finger in that Blood.

There remains now nothing more to be done, but to say something, and but a little, of some Kings of *Great Britain* after the Union of the two Monarchies. In this, I confess, I was under some Agitation of Spirit, Whether to speak, or to be silent; according to that of the Comical Poet,

*Dum in dubio est animus, paulo momento buccillus impellitur :*

Yet I have adventured to say, That King *Charles the Ist*, for his great Devotion merited an eminent place among those *Worthies*, providing he had been restor'd to the exercise of his Government, and had occasion to transcribe, by his Practice, that most Excellent Pattern he prescribed to himself, in his *Incomparable Book*; it being highly probable, that he learned many good Lessons, in that long-lasting and sharp *School of Affliction*, which in the Days of Prosperity had been hid from him; tho' I still judg'd him a Prince of more solid Learning than his Father: So that he might say with a King *according to God's own Heart*, *It was good for me that I was afflicted*, &c.

As to his *anteacta Vita*, I find a strange contrariety among Historians; some, hand-over-head, pretend to justify all he did in matters of Government; others deviate so far to the contrary extream, that they condemn the best and most plausible of his Actions as having a bad Design in them, and traduce those which ought to have given the greatest Contentment: verifying on that Unfortunate Prince, the Wit-  
ty



ty Observation of *Tacitus*, *Conflata magna invidia, seu bene, seu male gesta, premunt*. But as *Phæbus* said to his Son *Phaeton*, least he should burn the World, *Medio tutissimus ibis*, so it cannot be deny'd by his best Friends, that there were some *Spalmata* in the beginning of his Reign, occasion'd by some Parasites, the worst of *Harpies* in a State, who still buzz'd in his Ears, and misapply'd to a limited Monarchy, that Old Maxim of Arbitrary and Despotick Princes, *Quod Principi placuit, id Legis habet vigorem*; and none more ready to suggest this, than that unhappy Duke, whose unusual Fortune of being the greatest Favorite both of *Father and Son*, so long as he liv'd, was judg'd ominous for the State, even by those, who lov'd the Royal Family with all their Hearts.

But when this Self-deny'd Prince gave a sufficient Demonstration to all unbiass'd Persons of his willingness to comply with that of the Roman Emperour already mention'd, *Quod inconsulto fecimus consulto revocamus*, by empowering the great Council of the Nation to Abrogate, by a Law, all the former Inconveniencies, and to secure his People, for the future, from all their Fears, whether real or imaginary; What more, could the most Indulgent Prince upon Earth have done for the Satisfaction of his People? The Parliament, as comprehending the King and all the Representatives of the Nation, being undoubtedly the best Physician that can be imploy'd to apply all Physicall and Moral, all Legal and Rational Means, for remedying the Distempers of a State: So that Mr. *Coke*, in his *Detection*, as Virulent as he is, wrote strong Sence, in say-



ing, That the Parliament ought to have sisted there, and not accosted their King, in his return from Scotland, with such a sharp Declaration, wherein they ripp'd up all the Errours of the Government, which had been rectify'd to their own Satisfaction. Thus far Mr. Coke, and much more to this purpose; which tho' hinted at before, yet I judge it worth the while to be told over again.

As for mine own Sentiments, I cannot possibly pass a truer Construction on that Insolency, than, that it was their design, either to expose their Sovereign to publick Contempt, or at any rate to keep up the unhappy Division of the State, notwithstanding of all the Submissions and Concessions of their Lawful King: Yet I do not question but that in the said Parliament, at first term'd the *Long Parliament*, but afterwards the *Rump*, (tho' in King Charles the IId's Time, there was a Parliament that continu'd much longer than they) in that first *Long Parliament*, I say, there were some as great and moderate Spirits, as ever had the Honour to sit in any: But 'tis too evident, there were too many *Boute-feux* among them, who could not rest, till they had made a common Foot-ball of the Crown; and when they got their intent, it tended both to their Ignominy and Detriment in the end; except a very few who *rosted their Eggs* at that Fire which they had kindled: In the meanwhile, that *greatly afflicted Prince*, toss'd with those Tempests and furious Hurricanes, had good Reason to take up the Royal Prophet's Lamentation, *Wo is me, that I sojourn in Mesek, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar; my Soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace: I*



am for peace, but when I speak they are for war.

It is well known to the Learned World, how that *Solon*, the Renown'd Lawgiver of *Athens*, reckon'd *Tellus* the *Athenian*, with *Briton* and *Cleobis*, two *Argive* Brethren, by much, the happier Men, than was *Cræsus* the great King of *Lydia*, even when he was Master of the greatest Treasure upon Earth; not only because (as that Lawgiver truly foretold him) That he who had the sharpest Iron, would take away all his Gold; but also for this Reason, That no Man ought to be accounted Happy before he dye: To which the Poet alludes,

——*Dicique beatus*

*Ante obitum nemo Supremaque funera debet.*

insinuating thereby, That a Prosperous Man, and famous for Vertue, may become obnoxious to Adversity and Infamy before his Death. If the Emperour *Nero* had dy'd in the fifth Year of his Government, he would have been justly reputed one of the most Excellent Princes that ever sway'd the *Roman* Scepter, instead of receiving the Ignominious Epithet of *Monster of Nature*, which he afterwards merited, and will accompany him to all Eternity. And thus the Wise and Vertuous Philosopher *Plutarch* observes of *L. Lucullus*, That if he had dy'd abroad in the Wars when he Commanded Armies, or immediately after his glorious Victories over *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, no living Man, how Censorious soever, could have justly reproach'd him with any Vice; but after his return to Rome, having abandon'd himself entirely to a Voluptuous



*Life, he was justly taxed by all Temperate Persons as a most Luxurious and effeminate Epicure.*

Methinks, I hear a Judicious Reader saying, What an incoherent Discourse is this? What Analogy can there be 'twixt the Antecedent and Consequent? I shall therefore briefly account for it.

If his late Majesty King *William* of glorious Memory, had been living when these Sheets went out of my Hands, I should not have made any the least mention of him; because what is writ by way of Commendation of Princes, while alive, tho' with the greatest Candour, is apt to be misconstru'd, by an Uncharitable World, as flowing from a Principle of Flattery: As on the contrary, if any adventure to take notice of their Faults, tho' in the smoothest Terms, so *thin Skin'd* are some Princes, that they look upon it as a publick Reproach, and resent it accordingly. But the danger of such an Imputation of Flattery being over by the Death of that Great Prince, and he having liv'd with the Reputation of one of the greatest Hero's of the Age, I could not altogether supersede the honourable mention of him, without being unjust to the Memory of a Prince, whose Life and Actions will make such a considerable Figure in Story.

Yet I reckon, 'tis not necessary for me to attempt to give a positive Character of him; this being already done by abler Hands, to better purpose than the most I can pretend to: I shall only endeavour, the best way I can, to *wipe off* some of those *Aspersions*, thrown upon his Memory by his Enemies, and regretted by many of his cordial well-wishers:

This



This I shall do, with all the Ingenuity I am Master of, and according to the best Information one could have, at such a distance, who never had the Honour to be acquainted with his Counsels, or the secret motives of his *Politick Designs*.

It is first objected against him, by those who have a just Deference for *Episcopacy*, as *the truly ancient Apostolical Government of the Church*, That in the very beginning of his Reign, *Prelacy* in the Church of Scotland was abolish'd by his Authority, and *Parity* establish'd, and continu'd all his time.

This may be easily answer'd, even by the Objecters themselves, if they consider, That the matter was entirely referr'd by King *William* to the Convention of Estates (which was judg'd equivalent to the Representatives of the Nation Assembled in Parliament) to Determine what Form of *Church Government*, was then most agreeable to the *Inclinations of the People*, whose Delegates and Representatives they profess'd themselves to be: So that it was all one to him, Whether they had continu'd *Episcopacy*, or introduc'd *Presbytery*, or *Independency*: And I am fully perswaded, if a *new Parliament* had been Call'd in his Time, and had found, (as in all probability they would) *the Inclinations of the People* alter'd from the present Establishment, and that the most part of the Nation Clamour'd for a *Moderate Episcopacy*, in lieu of a *Confus'd Parity*, he would as readily have re-establish'd the former, as he had introduc'd the latter; and that without the least dread *that Scotland should become an Aceldama on that Account*: For I am certainly inform'd, he was no *Jure*



*Divino* Man, for any Species of Church Government, and consequently, could be no *Bigot* for the *Geneva Discipline*; nay, his Communicating always with the *Church of England*, in Court or Camp, affords an Infalible Demonstration that he was none of the *true Blew Presbyterians*; they being such Uncharitable *Monopolists* as to confine Christ's Crown, Scepter, and Kingdom, allennarly to their new Model of Government.

The 2d Exception, hath its rise from that Order his Majesty sent down to *Scotland* in the Year 1693, both to the General Assembly of the *Presbyterians*, and the *Episcopal Clergy*, who were willing to own the Civil Government, Requiring both Parties to Unite in the Terms of a *Formula*, concerted at Court for that effect: Which imported, *Tbat as the National Church was then stated, there could not be a General Assembly, which might truly be term'd the Churches Representative, without such an Union; both in respect of their former Canons, and Acts of Parliament; it being essential to the Constitution of a General Assembly, that Delegates should be sent (at least called for) from the several Districts or Presbyteries of the Kingdom, without which essential Ingredients, the greatest Powers upon Earth could not make such a Lame Meeting, a General Assembly, no more than they can alter the Nature of Things.* It was also Insinuated, *Tbat the Presbyterian Clergy, living at the time of the Revolution, were few in number; and having been long out of Office, could not but be fallen into great Desuetude as to Church Discipline, and that the younger Men, whom they assum'd, had not yet learned it: Such an Association*



Association was therefore absolutely expedient, that Church Censures might be duly inflicted on Scandalous Persons, of the Clergy or Laity, according to the Ecclesiastical Canons, In order to which, the Episcopal Party, as his Majesty appointed, sent their Commissioners to what was then call'd the *General Assembly*; which, by the same Authority, was requir'd to accept of them in the Terms of the said *Formula*: And that the whole might be the more Solemnly and Authoritatively Transacted, his Majesty was pleas'd not only to send some Divines from *England* to be Witnesses to it, but also to give it as a special Instruction to his \* Commissioner, to see his Charitable Design made effectual. But after all, the Assembly declin'd the Union, unless every Individual of the Episcopal Perswasion would Address them singly, and Subscribe all their whimsical Proposals: Whereupon, the Commissioner Dissolv'd the Assembly, *re infecta*.

\* viz. the  
Earl of Lo-  
thian,

Before I proceed, I suppose the Curious Reader will desire to know, what those whimsical Proposals were, wherewith the Episcopal Clergy could not safely comply, tho' they had been contain'd in the *Formula* it self; but to give the King his due, he was far from entertaining such absurd Notions, or approving them in others: I shall only take notice of two of them, or rather a complex one, which comprehends both; that, *velut ex ungue Leonem*, the Reader may perceive how great Ground there was to decline the wild Fancies of such Unreasonable Men.

The Proposal, at first view, seem'd very plausible, pretending nothing else but *Uniformity of Worship*; but it really imply'd the greatest



greatest Deformity of it that ever was hatch'd among Christians, even nothing less than to *drive out of God's own House*, (to the great Scandal of our Holy Religion) *that perfect form of Prayer our blessed Saviour taught his Apostles, and left to his Church as a Badge of their holy profession*: A most unaccountable Practice! And shews, that the Presbyterians, in this Iron Age, are singular from all other Ages and Churches, of whatever Denomination, in the Christian World: For when any of the Ancients Commented on Prayer in General, or that *Divine form* in particular, they still recommended the use of it; that our imperfect Devotions, in Publick or Private, might be both directed, and (as it were) sanctify'd, by that most perfect Form: Nay, it was the Opinion of diverse of the Primitive Fathers, that without the *Lord's prayer*, the Gospel Sacraments could not be rightly consecrated. And as for the Fathers of the Presbyterian Kirk, if we believe their own Writings, the *Coryphæi* among them still recommended the use of that Sacred form; thus *Calvin*, and *Beza*, at *Geneva*, where the first foundation Stone of modern Presbytery is said to have been laid; *Capellus*, and *Dallee*, *De Moulin*, and *Amyrald* in *France*; *Blondel*, and *Salmasius*, in the *Netherlands*; *Cartwright*, and *Reynolds*, in *England*; with *Knox*, and *Melvil*, in *Scotland*; did unanimously recommend the use of the Lords Prayer, both by their Doctrine and Practice: assuring us (as one of them expresseth it) *that the great Lord Paramount of Heaven and Earth is the better pleas'd, the oftener he is accosted in his own Words*. Nay, the same is seriously recommended



mended by their own *Directory*, and *Westminster Catechism*, which they so vehemently press on their Young Profelytes. Not to speak of what a Learned and Pious Divine of their own Number, *M. Le Spang*, hath writ, in few pages, against that *impious neglect*; which they will not be able to answer, *ad Græcas Calendas*.

To all this the general Answer was, That these were very worthy Men in their Generation, but the Church was still on the *Reforming Hand*, and all the Members of it were constantly oblig'd to put to their helping hand to purge the House of God from the *Rubbish of Idolatry and Superstition* to be found in it. But on the other side, it was reply'd, that this was the usual Apology of the confus'd Anabaptists, with their Spurious issue, the brain-sick Quakers; and some Suggested, that they could not but be asham'd of those, who, being call'd Christians, presum'd to reckon *the Lord's Prayer* among *Idolatrous, or Superstitious Rubbish*; as if *Christ's own form* was a *Limb of Antichrist*: Nay, others roundly told 'em, that they would nor suffer a Late *Satyrist* to bely them, who speaking of their *Vertiginous Humour*, even in matters of Devotion and Religion, hath these smart Words,

*As if Religion was intended  
For nothing else but to be mended.*

But some of the more futile young *Blades* did not boggle to say, that their *Remora* was, what I suppose is the epidemical obstacle in them all, namely that the Use of the Lord's Prayer looks like the Pattern of a *Liturgy* or  
set



set Forms of Worship: to whom it was pertinently reply'd, that it would contribute much for the advantage of the Church in that part of the World, if *Raw Young Preachers*, pretending to a *Fervent Zeal*, but not according to *Knowledge*, were bound up (at least while the *Fervor Novitius* is upon them) to a *form of sound Words* in all their publick Offices, that by the help of such *Crutches* they might learn to walk the better, and so give no more occasion to Atheistical or irreligious Men to ridicule and despise the solemn Worship of God, as *Rhapsodies of Pious Nonsense*.

The other Branch of that *monstrous whimsical Proposal*, was to exile the *Doxology*, or solemn Adoration of the Blessed Trinity, from having any share in the solemn Praises of God Almighty; because (forsooth) they find it not, in so many Words, expressed in Holy Scripture; tho', to shun the imputation of *Antitrinitarianism*, they grant, that all the Persons of the Blessed Trinity are mention'd in the Gospel: But, beside the constant Practice of the Catholick Church for so many Ages, a Reason was assign'd for the use of it, which they cannot refuse, without charging the Primitive Church with Nonsense, in one of its Constitutions; namely, *an Ordinance*, (after the great Council of *Nice* had condemn'd *Arianism*) appointing the *Doxology* to be sung or said in all Churches, for the better discovery of those *Arian Hereticks*; since it might be presum'd, they would not openly joyn with the *Orthodox* in such a solemn Adoration of the *Holy Trinity* express'd in that Form of *Doxology*: on which account, *Athanasius*, and several others, report, That *Leontius*, the  
fly



ly Bishop of *Antioch*, so mutter'd the *Doxology*, that it could not be known, whether he was *Arian* or not. Whence the Episcopal Clergy most pertinently urg'd, that, in this Degenerate Age, there was greater necessity for such a *publick Test* than in the Days of *Athanasius*, there being so many *Socinians* in *Britain*, (if we believe the *Presbyterians* own Testimony) and too many of their Genuin Issue, the Modern *Theists*; and so much the rather, because, tho' the *Arian* Heretics were bad enough, and turbulent above measure; yet *Socinianism* is a more detestable and dangerous Heresy.

Now to *Lick this Exception into a Form*, after so large a Prologue; when Authority was thus so palpably despis'd and affronted, many expected, that such *refractory Subjects* should have been made sensible of the Genuine meaning of these Words of the Wiseman, *where the Word of a King is there is Power, and who may say unto him, What doest thou?* whose Desire is equivalent to a Command, not to be disputed, but readily obeyed in all things Lawful and that the *Royal Commissioner* to the next Session of Parliament should have brought Instructions with him for the same purpose; but nothing of this appear'd.

The best Answer, I suppose, can be made to this Objection, is, That a *Moderate Prince* thought fit to trace the Foot-steps of *Constantine the Great* in dealing with the unruly *Donatists* in *Africa*; for tho' they were Condemned by a Council of Bishops at *Rome*, and another at *Arles*, both, by the Emperour's Appointment; and at last found by himself to have been very Injurious to *Cecilians*, Bishop of



of *Carthage*, they having Appeal'd from the Synod of *Arles* to the Emperour; yet that good Emperour (as *Eusebius*, *Optatus Milevitanus*, and *St. Augustine* testify) thought to gain them by *Clemency and Patience*: Which Method, in some other Emperours, was at first approved by *St. Austin*; but afterwards, he changed his Opinion; for finding the Lenity and Goodness of the Emperours abus'd, by a *stubborn Crew of Schismatics*, he at last concluded, in the Words of the Wise Man, *That a Rod was fittest for the Back of Fools*.

The third Exception concerns that most Unfortunate *Scots Colony* at *Darien*, ominously term'd *Caledonia*, for rencountering *Ravenous Boars*, tho' they found neither a *Meleager*, nor an *Attalanta* to relieve them; whose repeated dismal Disasters must needs be a melancholy Subject to the Nation in general, who expected much Glory and Advantage by settling in that *Isthmus*, which in process of time might have Commanded, both *Mar del zur*, and *Mar del nort*; and no doubt, as is before observ'd, it would have prov'd an *advantagious Post*, for the Interest of *Britain*, as it is now Stated with *France* and *Spain*: But without all peradventure, it was most mortifying to those Adventurers, who Expended a great deal of Money, in expectation of a *Golden Harvest*, when they found their Prince so little concern'd for the Interest of their *Company*, tho' establish'd by Act of Parliament, and consequently with his own Consent: I shall give their Lamentation, in the following Words of one of their Trustees: *Sure his Majesty hath been very much abus'd by the false Representations of some evil Men about him.*  
other-



otherways 'tis not to be presum'd, his Generous Temper would ever have yielded to such Hardships on his ancient Kingdom, so lately deliver'd by him from the eminent danger of Popery and Slavery, and for whose Safety he had so often expos'd his Sacred Person.

Having neither Opportunity, nor Ability to dive into Mysteries of State, all the Answer, rationally to be expected in this intricate Matter, is only Hypothetical, or by way of Conjecture: 1. 'Tis possible, that great Prince might have been abus'd by some Officer of State; as it is alledged, one of his Predecessours was Trepan'd by his Secretary, when a Missive Letter was directed in the Royal Name to the Pope: For 'tis absolutely unaccountable that any Generous Prince should have been so Inhumane, as to prohibit the selling of Necessaries for Life, to any of his Necessitous Subjects, unless they had been first declar'd Rebels to the Government, or Traytours to the King and State.

Next, 'tis highly probable, the *Indian Companies*, in *England* and *Holland*, did often Clamour in his Majesties Ears, that the *Scots Colony* at *Darien* would, at the long run, mightily prejudice their Interest in *America*, by drawing the Grist to their own Mill; for *Figulus figulo invidet*; So that to satisfy them, it is no great wonder he gave not the expected encouragement to that *New Plantation*, especially at that Juncture, when he wanted ready Money, as the necessary *Sinews*, to support the great War he was engag'd in; and which could not any where be more readily found, than in the Bags of those Wealthy Merchants.

Thirdly,



Thirdly, Immediately after the War, he was much troubled with repeated *Memorials*, from the *Spanish* Ambassadour, complaining, “ That the *Scots* had nestled in the very Bowels of his Catholick Majesty’s Dominions in “ *America*, and that the same was a breach of “ the general Peace of *Europe* concluded at “ *Reswick*: And truly, whoever considers the King’s Circumstances at that time, will be apt to conclude, He was scarce in a Capacity to manage a War against any of his former Allies.

In fine, If there was any real Resentment on his part, it may be justly imputed to the Indiscretion of the *Directors*, in concealing such an Important Design from their Prince, till they had taken Possession; as if he had been unfit, either to give, or keep Council: For they who betake themselves to a great Prince, as their *Padrone*, in any important Project, ought also to make him their *grand Consulter*. I know it is said, That a Design of this Nature, by being too soon air’d, was pitifully disappointed, even that noble Attempt upon *Guiana*, which prov’d so fatal to the Famous *Raleigh*: But, for ought I know, there was not a *Gondamor* at Court, when this Project was in Agitation, and tho’ some *Old Princes* have been *pleni rimarum*; yet ’tis well known, this *British Hero* was not so.

But to shut up this Point, I’m fully persuaded; he entertain’d no Antipathy against the *Scottish* Nation in General, as some have pretended; having given a sufficient Demonstration to the contrary, in recommending most seriously to the *English* Parliament, the Union of the two Nations, as that which  
on



on many accounts, he judged very advantageous to both Kingdoms; and enforcing his Recommendation by such strong Reasons, as the most Judicious and Impartial Viscount of *St. Albans* had publish'd, in a notable little Treatise on that Subject, when the said *Picture* begun to be drawn, in the Dayes of King *James the 1st of Great Britain*: And I am sure, every *Thinking Man*, who duly considers the general Interest of this Famous Island, cannot but heartily Wish, the said *Pourtraiture* may speedily obtain its *last Sitting*; as I hope it shall, the Glory of accomplishing this *great Design* being, it seems, reserv'd for the *present Reign*.

The last exception I am to take notice of, concerns the oppress'd Protestants abroad. That his late Majesty Liv'd and Dy'd a sound Protestant, is not call'd in Question; but many Protestants charged it upon him, as *a great Neglect*, that at the Treaty of *Reswick*, he was not *Zealous enough*, for the Relief of the Poor persecuted Protestants in *France*, *Piemont*, and the *Lower Palatinate*; and his appearing so much, on other occasions, in opposition to Popery, was look'd upon as an Aggravation of what they thus lay'd to his Charge: whereas Queen *Elizabeth* was highly magnify'd, for affording comfortable aid to the Protestants in *France* and the *Netherlands*, in imitation of the Great *Constantine*, who suppress'd the Power of *Licinius*, his own Brother-in-Law, (and as Absolute in the West as he was in the East) because he abus'd it to the Destruction of many Christians in his Territories, notwithstanding of an Edict, publish'd at *Milan* by both these Emperours, in Favour of our Holy Religion: For which no-



ble Act, the Memory of *Constantine*, if we believe *Eusebius*, was most precious, after his Death, thro' all the Christian World. Queen *Elisabeth* was also told, by the Protestant Divines, That in rescuing poor Christians, oppress'd for their Consciences, she exactly trac'd the Foot-steps of *Charlemain*, so much extoll'd by all the Writers of that Age, for stopping the Fury wherewith an Apostate Prince of *Friezeland* did rage against his Christian Subjects; and that, because they were become Christian.

But I suppose, many think King *William* more negligent in this Charitable Office, than perhaps he was, *For no Man is bound to do better than his best, nor can do more than he may*: It may be easily taken for granted, That, before the Treaty of *Reswick*, all Parties were become weary of a long expensive War, and that the Sinews of it, *hinc inde*, had begun palpably to shrink; 'tis also to be consider'd, That tho' his late Majesty was chose *Generalissimo* of the Confederate United Forces, yet that many great Princes, among 'em were of a Religious Perswasion different from his; such as, the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the new *Palsgrave*, not to mention the Duke of *Savoy*; so that, when the Treaty was set on Foot, the Plenipotentiaries of Popish Princes were so far from Joining with those of the Protestant Perswasion, for the Relief of those poor Suffering Creatures, that in Conjunction with the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, they at last prevail'd to have a Clause inserted, whereby it was Agreed, That the Roman Catholick Religion should remain in the same condition, as it was



at that present exercis'd in those Places, restor'd by France to the Emperour and Empire ; and tho' the Protestant Delegates contested long, and at last Sign'd the Treaty with a Protestation, *That the Clause, in Dispute, should not be drawn into a Precedent* ; yet I confess, there is too great Reason to fear, That the Popish Party gain'd too great advantage in this Point, and that the French King hath taken occasion, from that *protested Concession*, the more fiercely to Tyrannize over his poor Subjects.

The present Emperour of Germany, as being the *first in Dignity* among the Crown'd Heads in Europe, was mostly to blame for that neglect of the poor Protestants, and I wish, his Subjects and present Armies smart not for it : He might have learn'd more Moderation, had he reflected on the excellent Deportment of his Ancestor Maximilian the Ild, who finding that neither Pope nor Council would grant any ease to the Consciences of his Protestant Subjects, repeated, more than once, these Words of the Royal Prophet, *Forty Years long was I grieved with this Generation*, &c. And his Father Ferdinand the Ist, frequently blessed God, for making him instrumental, first at Passaw, and next at *Ausburg*, in establishing Peace among the Inhabitants of Germany ; so that any one Party should not molest another, on account of Religion : It being also a certain Truth, That if this present Emperour had not been too much Jesuited in his former Counsels, his first Treaty with the *Turks*, had been much more advantageous than the last.

But his late Majesty of Britain being still



ready to shelter those *Refugees*, wherever himself had Interest; I judge it not improbable, that he had a private promise of Favour to them from that *French Monarch*: for as he begun not any boisterous Persecution till King *Charles* the 1<sup>st</sup>. dy'd, (who might have been much more Formidable to him while he liv'd) so he suspended the Oppression of 'em, till that Treaty was ended; well knowing, that the Plenipotentiaries could not be again easily Conven'd, nor their Constituents reunited: But his Promises and Oaths resemble many of the Laws of his Country, which, if we believe the Famous *Thuan*, were made in the Morning, and violated before Night: And as *Agessilaus* said of that perfidious *Persian Viceroy*, *Tissaphernes*, That the Gods would not fail to punish him speedily for his Perjuries; so this Persecuting *Gallican Prince* hath good Reason to fear, That his numerous *Freebooters* will not free him from the Impending Judgment of Heaven, which, most justly, dogs at the Heels, all Bloody and Deceitful Men.

But after all, If what I am able to say, by way of *Vindication*, does not sufficiently counterballance what is Objected; it must be remembered, That in this imperfect State, *Nihil est ab omni parte Beatum*. I shall only add my hearty Wish, That neither the Continent nor Isles of *Europe* may ever have occasion to apply, what is told of *Aristides* the *Athenian*, who, when he was turning his Back on that Ingrate City, which had driven him out by their *Ostracism*; earnestly supplicated their Gods, That his Citizens might not any more stand in need of him.

Yet



Yet, as to what concerns *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; *blessed be God*, what was said long ago by the Poet, may be fitly apply'd,

*Occubuit Sol, Nox nulla secuta est.*

We have happily enjoy'd *the Rising Sun*, immediately after *that Sun went down*, without any intervening Night, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of all good Patriots and Religious Subjects; who heartily wish, *Her present Majesty* may be another *St. Anne* for Piety, Charity, and Devotion; always blest'd with such Counsellours and Judges, as *Jethro* advis'd his Son-in-law to make choice of: And that, like another *Queen Elizabeth*, she may still penetrate to the bottom of the true Art of Government, and prosecute the most proper Methods of gaining the Hearts of her Subjects; no less successfully, than did, both that *Virgin Queen*, and her late Majesty, *Queen Mary*, of Blessed Memory; who not only became *the Darling of the People*, but also, by her great Intellectual and Moral Indowments, so endear'd herself to her *Royal Consort*, that immediately after her much lamented Death, he gave her as ample a Testimony, as, I suppose, ever any Husband could give to a Wife; *My Loss*, said he, *is not enough to be Condol'd, considering, that having been 17 Years Marry'd, she never spoke nor did, what might justly offend any Reasonable Man.* A Commendation! which few Mortals, of either Sex, can paralel her in.

In fine, Let us joyfully believe, that the *Theme*, so appositely discours'd upon, by that  
Bright



*Bright Northern Luminary*, at the Inauguration of our *present Gracious Sovereign*, was a good *Omen*, That her Majesty will assuredly prove, a *Nursing Mother to the Church*, in these Kingdoms; both, by *securing the famous Church of England*, in all her just *Rights and Privileges*; that as she hath been, unquestionably, the strongest *Bulwark* in the Christian World, these two last Ages, against the Errors, Idolatry, and Superstition of Popery; so she may continue unshaken, under the *Divine and Royal Protection*, to all Posterity: and, by re-establishing *Decency and Order*, in the Long *Distressed Church of Scotland*, when it pleaseth God, in his Providence, to offer a favourable Opportunity.

If the imputation of Flattery did not here restrain me, I might expatiate in this *large Field*, without the least hazard of going beyond the Bounds of Truth. I shall only say, what the strictest Rules of Modesty will allow, that if Her *Sacred Majesty* (whom God long preserve) shall still continue so fully to answer our Hearty Wishes and good Hopes, in going on as she hath begun, *The Character of a Generous Princess* will, undoubtedly, belong to Her, no less Justly, than to any *Crown'd Head* before mentioned.

I fully conclude this Treatise, with a Request, to the Candid Reader, made, long agoe, by the *Lyrick Poet*, to all who would be at pains to Peruse his Works,

— *Si quid novisti rectius istis,  
Candidus imperti, si non, his utere mecum.*



And with a notable Expression of the excellent Petrarch, wherewith he usually ended his Books; *Multa scribo, non tam ut Saeculo meo prosim, (cujus jam desperata miseria est) quam ut meipsum Conceptis exonarem, & Animum Scriptis Soler.*

*Soli Deo Gloria. Amen.*

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**F I N I S.**

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**E R R A T A.**

Page 13. Line 1. read. Epithet of numen to be Blasphemously given him. p. 33. l. 37. r. such a Challenge. p. 151. l. 29. r. Complex Judicature. p. 282. l. 26. r. very weighty reasons. p. 316. l. 26. r. the same Liberality. p. 329. l. 20. r. had their Original. p. 344. l. 36. r. Primitive Institution. p. 359. l. 1. r. *Apicinus*. What other less material Escapes there may be, 'tis hop'd the Courteous Reader will overlook them.



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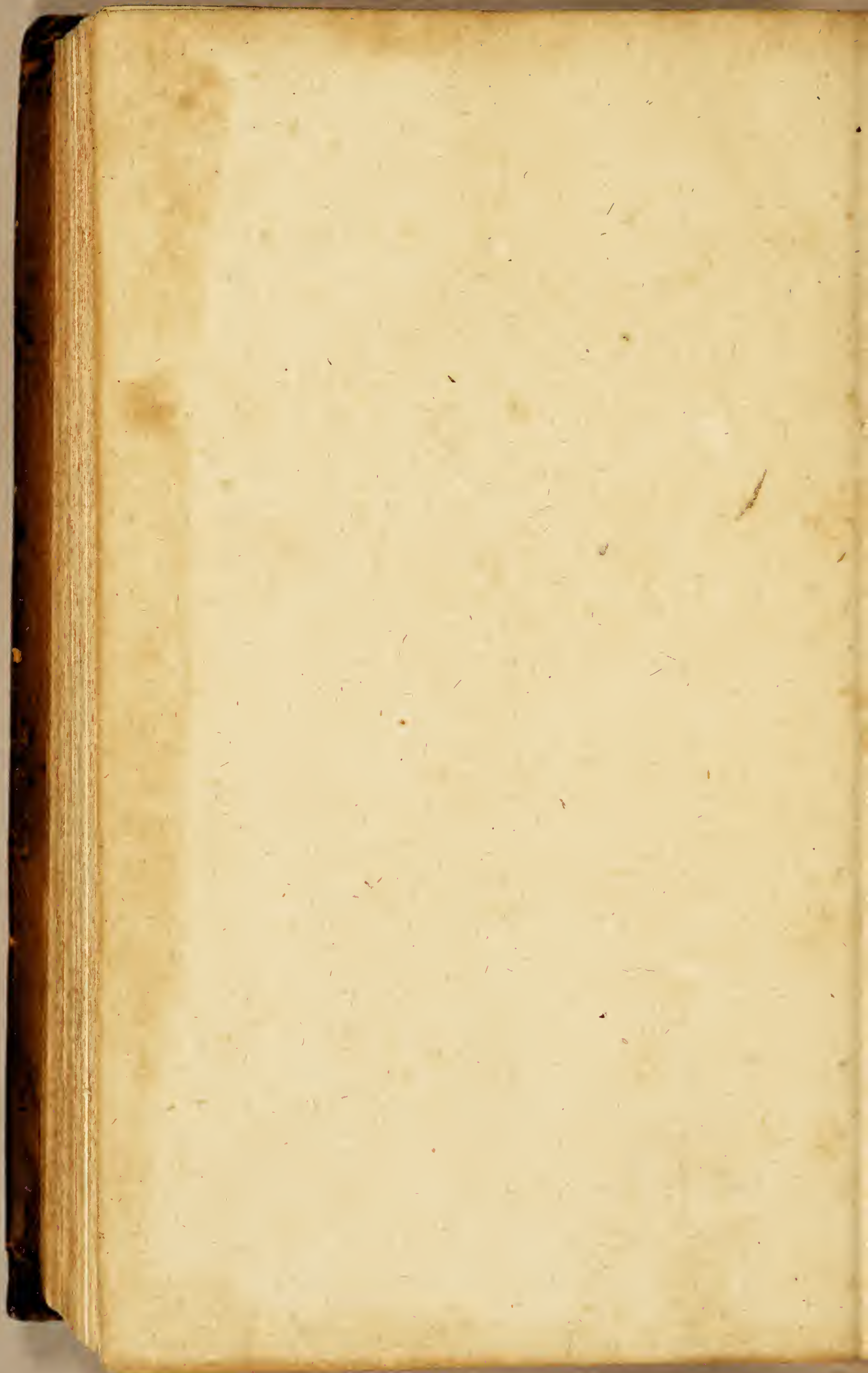
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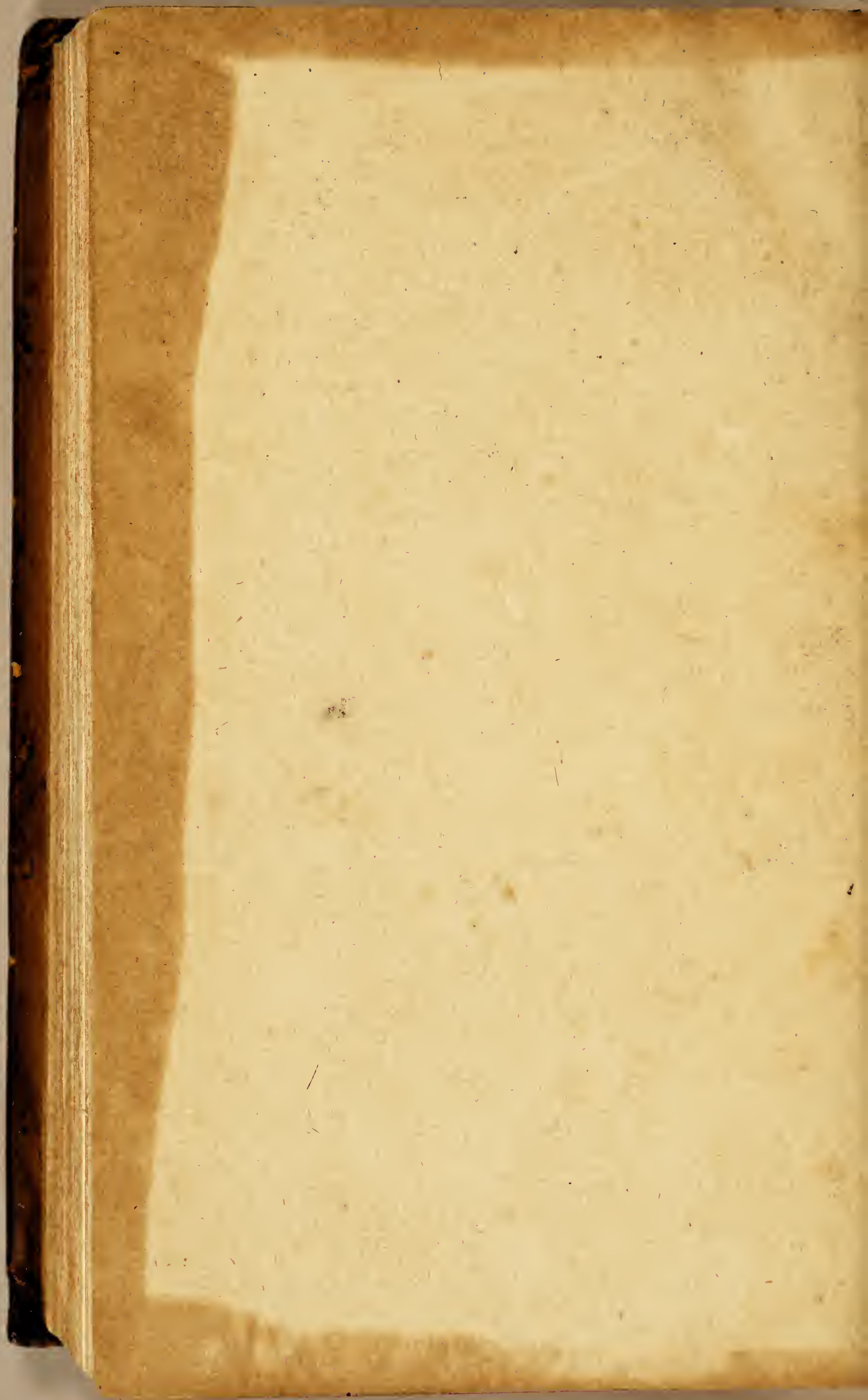














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